



**Classroom, Identity and Diversity:
Ethnic Identity Negotiation of Filipino Students in Hong Kong Multiethnic Classrooms**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Education)
University of Tasmania
August 2015

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STATEMENT OF ETHICAL CONDUCT

The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University.

Jan Gube

August 2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

He who does not know how to look back at where he came from will never get to his destination.

Jose Rizal

When eating bamboo sprouts, remember the man who planted them.

Chinese Proverb

My most profound thanks go to God who has brought me to an intellectual journey I never foresaw in my school years. God has graced me with a strong support network that has brought the writing of this thesis to fruition. For that reason, this thesis represents the synergy of the dialogues I have had with many individuals who have shaped my thinking in this study.

I gratefully thank Assoc Prof Rosemary Callingham, my primary supervisor, for generously sharing her knowledge and constantly showing enthusiasm towards my research topic. Her amiable, professional and non-doctrinal approach to supervision has fuelled much of my intellectual energy, not least her sharp editing knife that has pruned my writing to its best possible shape. I have always looked forward to our supervision meetings throughout my candidature not just because of Rosemary's intellectual engagement with my work, but also because of her candour, which had turned stressful study moments into laughter and brought out refreshing insights. In showing herself as a respectable scholar, Rosemary's passion for supervision and mentorship will always mark her as an academic mum I look up to.

I am also indebted to Dr Greg Ashman, my co-supervisor, for patiently reading my work from draft to draft and for making himself available amidst his busy schedule. I cherish his many insights that have helped me think through various aspects of my research. Greg's gentle personality and relaxed demeanour have made him very approachable, and I have enjoyed exchanging views with him about the multicultural education contexts of Hong Kong and Australia. I thank him for cheering me on at all times.

My heartfelt gratitude is due to Assoc Prof Sivaness Phillipson, my co-supervisor, friend and mentor who had tirelessly encouraged and supported me both academically and emotionally. I particularly thank Sivaness for introducing me to the sociocultural world that has moulded the theoretical foundation of this study. She has also stimulated my learning and

growth as a researcher with her enthusiasm, excitement, ambitious expectations and erudite questions in many of our scholarly dialogues. Looking back, it is hard to believe that her words of encouragement some five years ago have sprouted into this thesis. I hope this thesis repays her for her perseverance and the rigour she has put into my work as I made baby steps towards, and now set foot in, academia.

I benefitted from my early conversations with Assoc Prof Shane Phillipson who has exposed me to the nuts and bolts of academia. I learnt enormously from Shane's high standards in his scholarship when I worked as his research assistant. Shane has been humble in his accomplishments without him knowing that I have quietly admired his work ethic as a researcher. I thank him for encouraging me to pursue an academic career.

It was a pleasure to have had worked with Dr Jan Connelly on ethnic minority education projects. I am indebted to her support and the opportunity to work closely with her on the Education, Ethnicity and Inequality symposium when I returned to Hong Kong for my fieldwork in 2013. The job was a timely opportunity to engage in the wider debates in the field, which led me to begin pondering about the social justice implications of my work.

I extend a special thanks to the Faculty of Education and Graduate Research Office at the University of Tasmania for all financial, material and administrative support. The provision of free tuition, living, travel and research allowances has made this study possible. In particular, I have received grants that supported my costs to travel to Hong Kong for data collection and to New Zealand for a research conference in my theoretical field. This thesis has also benefitted from my participation in the Performing the Word Writing Retreat sponsored by the Office of Dean of Graduate Research. Also, I commend the efforts of all Graduate Research Coordinators and other staff members who have worked hard to improve our research experience in the Faculty.

I am deeply grateful to all the participants of this study. Specifically, I owe the principal a great debt of gratitude for allowing me to freely visit the school and to engage the two teachers and a number of students in this study. My sincere thanks go to the two teachers who had gone beyond their teaching duties to assist me in my fieldwork and made me feel very welcomed in the school as a research visitor. This study would not have been possible without their support and participation. Equally, I am greatly thankful for the young people who, through their stories, have thoughtfully given me a glimpse into their school life as Filipino students.

To all my friends in Launceston, I thank you all for your collegiality and friendship. Di Nailon deserves a special mention for organising many gatherings to keep us sane, while we endeavoured to radically comply with our academic pursuits! The many conversations we had in those gatherings remind me of our growing and vibrant HDR community. Being part of this community is no doubt my privilege. Particularly, I value the company of Yaar Muhammad, Adnan Satariyan, Seyum Getenet, Sunny Jang, Mel Babae and many other friends for all the great times and good laughs about research life.

A great debt goes to Samantha Wong who has had her daily dose of my identity theory experiments and cultural correction. Samantha had been the backbone of this thesis through our numerous conversations about identity, culture, faith, ethnic minorities, Hong Kong politics and life in general. As well, she had at times jumped in as my so-called research assistant and editor to read parts of my writings. Most of all, I cannot thank her enough for listening to me, celebrating with me in good times, and putting life into perspective with her fervent prayers, especially when things go wayward.

My loving gratitude is due to my parents, Josue and Marietta Gube, who have been a significant part of my becoming. By teaching me to relish my cultural upbringing as a Filipino, teaching me Tagalog and sending me to local Chinese schools despite our immigrant status in Hong Kong, my parents have, in hindsight, developed my immense curiosity for this study. Behind my mum's mantra "always pray to God" and my dad's favourite adage "no pain, no gain" were their unswerving support, patience, prayers and love that have kept me going with this study. The efforts I had put into this three-year thesis will never come close to the blood, sweat and tears that my parents have poured out for me all along. This thesis is for both of them.

Jan Gube
University of Tasmania
Launceston, August 2015

ABSTRACT

This study explored the links between a multiethnic learning environment and ethnic identity negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong. The prominent role of Chinese language in post-1997 Hong Kong, along with the existing school allotment practices, created an emerging segment of scholarship on ethnic minorities with respect to their Chinese language learning, paralleling little explicit research on the interface of their cultural diversity and schooling practices. Particularly, research on ethnic minorities in Hong Kong tended to focus on South Asian (Indian, Pakistani and Nepalese) students that highlighted a notable dearth of literature on how Filipino students engage with schooling environment.

In keeping with the effort to understand the cultural diversity in Hong Kong schools, ethnic identity is viewed in this study as a dynamic construct susceptible to shifts within the cultural processes of institutions. Building on this conceptual standpoint using an ethnographic approach, I examined how forms of institutional arrangements, pedagogical practices and student peer networks enabled textured ethnic identity shifts among Filipino students in a Hong Kong secondary school attended mainly by students of Pakistani, Filipino, Indian and Nepalese origin. Drawing on school documents, interviews with a principal and two teachers, observations in one Chinese and two English classes, and interviews with 17 Filipino students, I incorporated three levels of analyses to interrogate the interface of Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation, their classroom and multiethnic schooling environment.

In this thesis, I refer to the multiethnic secondary school as "Melange" (pseudonym). This site, I argue, is implicated in the conflicting effects of two discourses: the emphasis on integration in the wider educational discourse and the recognition for cultural diversity within the school under the existing school placement system in Hong Kong that tended to segregate ethnic minority and Chinese students. The data pointed to school-level politics that uniquely positioned Melange to provide students a learning environment that catered to their diverse Chinese language proficiency under a culturally harmonious ethos.

In documenting how Melange simultaneously values ethnic minority students' cultural diversity through its institutional ethos and the prevailing discourse on integration through emphasising the importance of learning Chinese in tensioned instructional environments, the analysis showed how teachers negotiated their pedagogical practices based on their perceived language proficiency and needs of their students, which suggested how they implicitly contested the curriculum materials in Chinese and English subjects.

Filipino students negotiated their ethnic identity through musical practices, perceptions toward Chinese language learning and the school's culturally harmonious space. I showed how these forms of ethnic identity negotiation foreshadow the shifting cultural boundaries between Filipino and non-Filipino students, between proficient and less proficient users of Chinese language, and among all ethnic minorities at Melange. I illustrated how such contours of ethnic identity shifts were, in part, implicated in a dilemma of providing a culturally responsive environment and facilitating ethnic minority students' integration into a predominantly Chinese society that underwrote Hong Kong's multiethnic schooling practices.

By highlighting the nexus between the schooling structure and Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation in a stratified educational landscape, I argue that Filipino students' ethnic identity shifts were not only bounded by the lack of Chinese language proficiency, a factor that prevented them to fully identify as "locals". Their ethnic identity shifts also hinged on established interaction with their own and other ethnic minority groups within their school. Yet, this form of socialisation did not always extend beyond Melange, opening up more clues on how current student outcomes in Hong Kong multiethnic schools may not be consistent with the education system's intent to immerse ethnic minority students with their local Chinese counterpart.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACSL	Advanced Chinese as a Second Language
BPS	Bought Place School
CDC	Curriculum Development Council
CSL	Chinese as a Second Language
DST	Dialogical self theory
DSS	Direct Subsidy Scheme
EDB	Education Bureau
EM	Ethnic minority
HKCEE	Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination
HKDSE	Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education
HKALE	Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination
GCEAL	General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
GCEAS	General Certificate of Education Advanced Supplementary
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
IC	Immersion Chinese
MC	Mainstream Chinese
NCS	Non-Chinese speaking
RDO	Racial Discrimination Ordinance
SA	South Asian

PROLOGUE

On my way home from conducting fieldwork in 2013, I could not help but contemplate on my participant's story on her relationship with her peers. She had quipped,

If the society looks at it, it's like you're black and then you're white. So you just go with the ones they think you're supposed to be with. It's just a social group. It's like a rule, like a hidden rule. So we just go like that.

The hidden rule she invoked revived a childhood memory, when I felt foreign despite having been born and raised in a place I call home – Hong Kong.

My brothers, who grew up in the Philippines, used to tell me “Jan, you're just a Chinese who speaks Filipino”.

Some of my Chinese friends used to tell me, “Jan, you're just a Filipino who speaks Cantonese”.

This conundrum is something I've grappled with along the years.

I sometimes felt that the fairy tale phrase “Mirror, mirror, on the wall, who am I among them all?” (Woo, 2009, p. 85) resonated my sentiments that evolved into my PhD. I chose to explore how multiethnic schools in Hong Kong influence Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation. So part of my ethnography involved asking students to respond to the question “What does it mean to be a Filipino student in Hong Kong?”

However, engaging students to answer this identity question proved challenging. One of them curtly described the task, “It's harder than you think...” He eventually withdrew from my project. Intimidated and disheartened after losing a participant, I aired my frustration to my supervisors, cloistered myself at home and eventually whipped myself back into action.

As I started interviewing other Filipino students, I learned that singing and playing music in school mean a lot to them. One student reminded me, “You’ve been to my classroom and you’ve seen my friends playing guitar. Yeah, I mean, usually when we’re the last people in the school, we’re the ones singing and then the rest of our friends wouldn’t be there.”

At first, as a Filipino myself and being part of a culture that’s stereotypically fond of music, I overlooked music’s role in Filipino students’ school life. But the eureka moment revealed itself when another student said, “I feel like music is something that brings everyone together”. I then began to realise that ethnic identity isn’t just about how people label themselves. It’s also about what we do in our daily life, bringing cultural practices from place to place, from home to school grounds.

I found some answers to my research question. But there’s so much more in this journey, in which I’ve lost myself so many times. I just know I’m doing something coming from within, as Goodall phrased it, “What you *do* know is that you are being pulled into something larger than yourself, and the pull of it against your soul is undeniable” (cited in Berry, 2011, p. 165, emphasis in original).

The dialogues that were so etched on my mind as a child had found their home – a thesis that represents their intersection with other dialogues. The dialogues illustrated in the following chapters are not so much about myself, but those of my participants who, through dialogues, reconstruct a ‘home’ within their school.

The stories of my participants are not merely a microcosm of their school life and ethnic identities, but also a discourse that mirrors a social currency between ethnic minorities and Hong Kong’s education system.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

FILIPINO STUDENTS IN HONG KONG MULTIETHNIC SCHOOLS

Introduction

Out of about 100 teachers in our designated school, I could count with my fingers those who were sincere in helping us. There were those who truly loved us, wishing we never had to leave our families to pursue university. But we did, and many of us made it through.

If you think only OFWs (Overseas Filipino Workers) leave their families behind, think about the Filipino youths who grew up here, too. We also had to struggle to adapt to a country we did not know but where we had to go, because at some point in our lives, we had no place in the one we called home. (Yumul, 2012, December)

Yumul's vignette reminds us of ethnic minority (EM) students who have been emplaced in an education system that seems to have had distanced them from a "home". This paradox of finding "home" calls into question the influence of schooling on EM students' ethnic identity. How does this in-between positioning come about – having no place they could identify as their home? How does school make EM students who they are? What are the "hidden rules", as one of my participants put it, in the social world of their schooling system that characterises their being? This thesis forges a new direction in studies of ethnic identity by paying attention to the convergence of institutional, pedagogical and cultural domains as school authorities, teachers and students actively shift sociocultural processes in multiethnic learning environments.

In this thesis, I adopt sociocultural and dialogical approaches to examine the ethnic identity negotiation and formation of EM students in Hong Kong's education system. I specifically trace the various threads in a culturally diverse school that underpin the ethnic identity formation of Filipino students, a visible but lesser researched EM community in Hong Kong. In briefly rationalising the need to examine the ethnic identity negotiation of minority students in educational milieu, the following remark is worth considering:

It is not enough that we hear of the good intentions of policy makers to create classrooms for diversity. In practice we need to know how these classrooms are engaging with changing global and local demographic conditions in these new times, and with the new material conditions of identity politics. (Hirst, 2002, p. 1)

Hirst's articulation of identity politics is inextricably linked to classroom climate and global processes. It extends the mere question from 'who am I' to 'what makes me who I am'. In Hong Kong, educational provisions for EM students is undergirded by Confucian beliefs (Kennedy, 2011) and is associated with cursory recognition of cultural diversity (Connelly & Gube, 2013). By examining how sociocultural conditions (re)configure the ethnic identity formation of Filipino students in a culturally diverse school, this work extends the discussion on relationship between minority individuals and larger schooling processes in a specific Asian context.

This introductory chapter highlights the ways educational practices in Hong Kong affects EM students' ethnic identity negotiation. First, I briefly canvass the historical background of EM and Filipino students in Hong Kong. Then, I look at ways current school provisions in Hong Kong respond to an increasingly diverse student body. I draw attention to contextual factors that seem to impinge upon ethnic identity, rationalising the need to explore this research within a dialogical paradigm. I end by outlining the organisation of the remainder chapters of this thesis and briefly discussing the significance of this work.

Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong

Hong Kong is an emerging and telling site for ethnic identity research in a schooling context. Because of the increasing inflow and visibility of immigrants and their children, their schooling and adjustment processes create a new sector in education along with rapid policy reforms. Once a British colony, Hong Kong has been a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China since 1997. It has practised a high degree of autonomy by virtue of the "one country, two systems" principle and has a different political and educational terrain compared to mainland China. Owing to its global reputation in international and economic developments, Hong Kong has often been branded as "Asia's World City" in tourism discourse. Hong Kong houses over 7 million people. Although home to a majority (93.6% of Hong Kong population) of ethnic Chinese, the presence of a considerable number (6.4%) of expatriates, domestic helpers and immigrants is gradually shaping Hong Kong into a culturally diverse city. Of the 6.4% non-ethnic Chinese, the population is made up of Filipino (1.9%), Indonesian (1.9%), Caucasian (0.8%), Indian (0.4%), Nepalese (0.2%), Japanese (0.2%), Thai (0.2%), Pakistani (0.2%) and other Asians (0.2%) (Census and Statistics Department, 2011, February 21).

Within the overall population of Hong Kong are some 42,000 EM students studying in publicly funded kindergarten, primary and secondary schools. The presence of EM

students in Hong Kong dovetails with a soaring demand on their education provision. Although Hong Kong has developed a range of support measures for EM students (Education Bureau, 2012), the comprehensiveness of educational provisions for them is not unchallenged from social justice point of view (Carmichael, 2009; Loper, 2001, 2004). This challenge is compounded by other problems concerning equality and cultural sensitivity in Hong Kong's education system, as succinctly captured by McInerney (2010a, para. 7): "...effective schooling must be situated within its appropriate cultural and social contexts and build upon the skills, including native language, and values important within the students' communities". This thesis is a response to this challenge by exploring the ethnic identity of EM students in relation to their schooling environment.

Nomenclature of Ethnic Minorities

Studies on EM students are usually located within the broader literature on immigrant students. It is, therefore, crucial to discuss the different terms associated with immigrant students in the literature. In Hong Kong, they have been labelled in several ways. They are at times inconsistent, if not imprecise. The use of these labels is not to be underplayed as they variably denote the ethnic, racial and linguistic statuses of immigrant students. In this thesis, I adhere to the term "ethnic minority" (EM) when referring to students with immigrant or non-ethnic Chinese background in Hong Kong except when it is necessary to draw distinction among the terms or when referring to specific ethnic groups. These terms are elaborated below.

Ethnic Minority

Ethnic minorities are individuals who do not share the cultural background of the dominant ethnic group in a particular geographical setting. Hence, the term is contextual and coined with reference to a region's population mix. In Western contexts, ethnic minorities refer to non-White population (Bhopal, 2004). In Hong Kong, the term refers to "persons who reported themselves being of non-Chinese ethnicity in the Population Census/By-census" (Census and Statistics Department, 2011, February 21, p. 2). The term EM is not uncontested. For instance, Carmichael (2009) argued that the term creates "polarisation of opposites into "self" and "other", in which the Chinese majority is the "non-ethnic" norm, while non-Chinese are the "ethnic" other" (p. 7). Although this is true in a political sense (when power differences among ethnic groups are stressed), I still opt for the term EM for its lexical representation of the population and ethnic statuses of minority individuals. This is important for the purposes of this thesis as the following chapters will show how ethnic distinction is

constructed both implicitly and explicitly regardless of attempts to allay the political and polemical connotations of such demarcation through delicate labelling. As the census data on EM do not distinguish further the resident status of each ethnic group, one could be led to an assumption that Filipinos and Indonesians are the largest EM groups in Hong Kong. Filipinos in Hong Kong are comprised of two broad occupational groups: domestic helpers and professional workers. This is also the case of Indonesians in Hong Kong. In an immigration context, domestic helpers are rarely referred to as EM as they do not have right of abode in the city. They qualify as EM by ethnicity. However, they are more commonly referred to as foreign domestic helpers, overseas Filipino workers, 菲傭 (*fei yong* – Filipino maid) or 印傭 (*yan yong* – Indonesian maid) in the media to denote both their ethnic and occupational statuses. This visa condition of domestic helpers makes possible to single out Pakistani, Nepalese, Indian and Filipino individuals residing in the city. They reside in Hong Kong under different visa terms who are considered among the most visible EM groups not just because of their representation in the population data and the media, but also their historical ties with Hong Kong (Tai, 2014). Less associated with the label ‘EM’ are those of Caucasian descent and other non-Chinese individuals who occupy a smaller fraction in Hong Kong’s population. Caucasians and other non-Chinese (e.g., Japanese, Koreans, etc.) are EM based on the definition of the census data. However, Caucasians in Hong Kong are stereotypically known as privileged minorities (Groves, 2014) often because of their high socioeconomic status in the city. Such stratification in minority groups in Hong Kong invites discussion on class distinction beyond the scope of this thesis.

South Asians vs. Southeast Asians

Bhopal’s (2004) glossary listed “South Asians” (SA) as individuals with ancestral backgrounds in the countries of the Indian subcontinent, i.e., India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. In Hong Kong, SA is commonly referred to individuals with Indian, Pakistani and Nepalese background (e.g., Erni & Leung, 2014; Gao, 2011; Ku, Chan & Sandhu, 2005). Because of their visible presence in Hong Kong as minority groups, the term SA is commonly used and is sometimes treated synonymously with EM, which is confusing as Filipinos – who are geographically associated with the Southeast Asian region – will rarely identify with the label SA. In other words, the term SA is less inclusive than EM; they should not be equated with each other. It is more precise to refer to people of Filipino, Indonesian and Malaysian background as Southeast Asians (Emmerson, 1984).

Non-Chinese Speaking Students

The term “non-Chinese speaking” (NCS) students was coined by the Education Bureau (EDB). It is broadly defined as “students whose spoken language at home is not Chinese” (Education Bureau, 2014, p. 1). The term NCS can also be easily conflated with EM; they are often used interchangeably in various policy documents (e.g., Legislative Council, 2005, December). However, it is possible to distinguish the two terms upon closer inspection. While the EDB’s definition refers to the language background of a minority individual, the term NCS can be misleading when referring to non-Chinese individuals who have more developed Chinese language skills, such as those who speak fluent Cantonese. For example, Pakistani students who speak Cantonese qualify as Chinese-speaking individuals judging from their language proficiency. But because of their ethnic background, they still fit in the EM category. Hence, the term NCS is debatable in the context of identity research because it sidesteps the ethnic and racial characteristics of EM groups.

Linguistic Minority

A lesser used term in the literature is “linguistic minority” raised by Carmichael (2009). Carmichael was careful in differentiating the term from the EM category, in which she exemplified the case of ethnic Chinese people who are born overseas and do not necessarily speak or write Chinese, thus qualifying as “linguistic minorities” – defined as “whose mother-tongue is not Chinese” (p. 8). Yet, in the education context, this definition is at odds with the situation that “most of the students in the public education system who are linguistic minorities also differ from the Chinese majority in appearance, culture and national origin.” (p. 8). In effect, reference is still made to individuals who are ethnically different from Chinese people in Hong Kong that suggests little semantical difference from the term EM. Notably, Carmichael’s use of “linguistic minority” was motivated by avoiding “value judgements implicit in the term ‘ethnic’” (p. 7) that could be seen as a politically inappropriate label.

Filipinos in Hong Kong: Filipino Students as Missing Minorities?

“The irony is that, although longing for home, Filipinos now belong to the world.”

(San Juan cited in, Llorente, 2007, p. 33)

Despite the historical connection between Hong Kong and the Philippines, Filipino students in Hong Kong’s local education system are less studied among the EM population described in the previous section. Historically, Filipinos, who generally speak Tagalog as

their mother tongue, belong to the broad ethnic group of Austronesia and are known to have Malay and Spanish ancestries. This ancestral background was in part due to the country's colonial history. As part of the broader backdrop of the Philippine colonial history, Hong Kong became a destination of prominent Filipino exiles such as José Rizal and Emilio Aguinaldo in the late 19th century (Ottevaere, 2009) among some 27 Filipino republican leaders (Mojares, 1996). Hong Kong, as a result, laid ground for the establishment of the Hong Kong Junta (Bell, 1974). The Hong Kong Junta was comprised of Filipino exiles who initiated colonial resistance against the Spaniards and the Americans, and diplomatic transactions on weaponries with cities in France, Japan, U.K. and U.S.A. prior to the Philippine-American War in 1899 (Ottevaere, 2009). Within these historical scenes were the first Philippine flag sewn in Hong Kong (Halili, 2004) and the brief journey of José Rizal as an ophthalmologist in the city in 1882 (Ravin, 2001), which testified to the historical ties between Hong Kong and the Philippines.

The writings that exist, however, do not seem to imply that the Filipino exiles contributed to the immigration or settlement of Filipinos in Hong Kong. The reason for this was the British authorities expelled all political exiles in 1915 to secure Hong Kong as the First World War started in Europe (Jose, 1999). Though, about six decades after the disbandment of the Hong Kong Junta in 1903 (Bell, 1974) came the earliest group of Filipino immigrants (Philippine Association of Hong Kong, 2014). These immigrants were mostly Filipino musicians who worked with Shanghainese composers on musical performances in the entertainment industry (Tai, 2014). Anecdotal records also showed that another wave of Filipinos moved to Hong Kong as political refugees to escape the Martial Law regime in the Philippines in the 1970s (Philippine Association of Hong Kong, 2014). The influx of Filipinos in Hong Kong was paralleled by the expansion of Filipino domestic helpers in the late 1980s (Martin, 1991; Wang, 2011). A contributing factor to this population growth was a pervasive Filipino belief that “migration is seen as freedom to seek one's fortune” (San Juan, 2001, p. 262). Along with this belief was an effort to overcome poverty and inequality in the Philippines (Llorente, 2007). Moreover, Hong Kong has been reputed as a favourable venue in Asia for Filipino domestic helpers owing to the city's comprehensive laws and regulations (Martin, Abella & Midgley, 2004).

These historical accounts contextualise the movement of people pertaining to the diversity within the Filipino population in Hong Kong that existed in the colonial past of both the city and the Philippines. This diversity within the Filipino population still exists in

modern day Hong Kong, particularly in terms of work condition. However, discussions on Filipinos in media and public spheres seem to be outweighed by topics on domestic helpers. Perhaps as a result of their visibility and vulnerability towards labour exploitation, Filipino domestic helpers in Hong Kong have received more research attention (e.g., Constable, 1999; Oracion, 2012; Quizon, 2011) compared to Filipino professionals working in the service industry (e.g., executives, architects and entertainers) (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 2006; Watkins, 2009). Within the latter group of this population are Filipino students in Hong Kong who are typically descendants of Filipino expatriates and professional workers. As second or third generation immigrants, they are either settling or have already settled in Hong Kong. They are permitted to enter Hong Kong under different visa conditions (e.g., working visa, expatriate terms) that distinguish their situation to those of domestic helpers. Currently, it is estimated that 15,000 Filipinos hold permanent residency in Hong Kong (Servigon, 2013) out of the overall 22,000 working in the professional sector (those who were earning over HKD12, 000). In addition, reports indicated that 1,252 and 1,277 Filipino students are in local primary and secondary schools respectively (Roncesvalles, 2013).

Delving deeper into the population diversity of the Filipinos in Hong Kong, it is possible to notice Filipino students' underrepresentation in the research literature and media, qualifying them as 'minority of the minorities'. The locus of the studies on EM's education in Hong Kong tends to be South Asians, that is, students of Pakistani, Indian and Nepalese backgrounds. Furthermore, these studies have a tendency to cluster South Asian students as a homogeneous group. This thesis is thus not to be understood as a cross-cultural comparative research but one that attempts a deeper understanding towards a particular culture of Filipinos in Hong Kong. As Osalbo (2005) argued in her work on Filipino Americans' identity, Filipinos develop distinctive cultural identification compared to other Asian minorities in America, expressing her reservations towards the Asian American stereotype. Such a cultural realm takes on significance not only because of the paucity of discourse on Filipino students in Hong Kong, but because their ethnic identity negotiation is inflected with socio-historical conditions in local schools. The learning condition in Hong Kong tends to underplay EM students' nuanced understanding of their own heritage, understood via the sociocultural lens. To offer a snapshot of this schooling milieu, I briefly outline Hong Kong's academic structure and discuss how Hong Kong government has responded to EM students' educational needs in the next section.

Academic Structure of Hong Kong's Local Education System

The government body responsible for the administration of the local and public school system in Hong Kong is the Education Bureau (EDB). In keeping in mind the practice of 'One country, Two systems', Hong Kong's educational infrastructure differs from, and thus should not be confused with, the rest of China. The EDB has the following key objectives within the primary and secondary school sectors:

- provide a balanced and diverse school education that meets the different needs of our students; and helps them build up knowledge, values and skills for further studies and personal growth;
- enhance students biliterate and trilingual abilities;
- enhance teaching quality and effectiveness in learning;
- improve the learning and teaching environment;
- help newly arrived children from the Mainland integrate into the local school system as soon as possible; and
- enhance the quality, flexibility and accountability of school administration.

(Education Bureau, 2013a)

These objectives are intended to apply to 569 primary schools, 519 secondary schools and 61 special schools throughout the city. These schools are anecdotally identified as local schools, which are different from international schools. Although established in Hong Kong, international schools are out of EDB's jurisdiction and are run independently by private organisations, such as the English School Foundation. In addition, they adopt different curricula (e.g., International Baccalaureate) with very little semblance of Hong Kong's local education system.

One recent and significant educational reform of Hong Kong is the New Senior Secondary academic structure, known as the 3-3-4 system. Before 2006, Hong Kong's education system was similar to the British system. Students underwent six years of primary, five years of secondary, two years of matriculation and three years of undergraduate education. Towards the end of secondary education, students took the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) as a means to qualify for matriculation (sixth and seventh forms). Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE) was the public examination at the end of seventh form, which was an entry point to local funded undergraduate programmes. In the new 3-3-4 system, Hong Kong's secondary education and matriculation were curtailed to six years, needing only one public exam, i.e., Hong Kong

Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE), as a means to enter four-year undergraduate programmes. Figure 1.1 illustrates the comparison of the old and new academic structure.

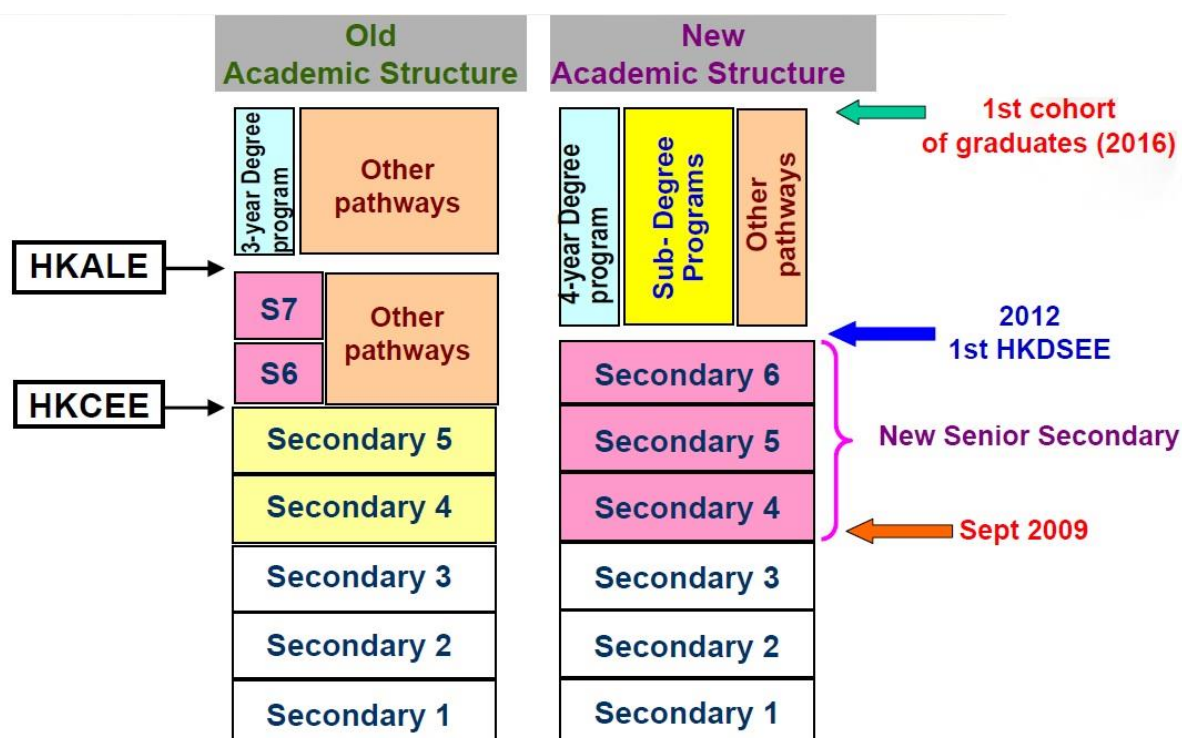


Figure 1.1. Comparison between old and new academic structure in Hong Kong (Cheung, 2010).

In bringing EM students into the picture of the local education system, one might imagine the notion of multicultural education. Although this term has a barrage of connotations, Hong Kong's local education system does not promote such a practice. Just by reading the objectives of the EDB above, it is clear that Hong Kong has no policy associated with multiculturalism (Law & Lee, 2012). The EDB instead introduced a set of support mechanisms that cater to the learning needs of EM students, elaborated in the following section. To clarify, the EM students I refer to in this thesis are those studying in the local system, whereas EM students in international schools are beyond the scope of this work.

Key Educational Support for Ethnic Minorities

The enactment of Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) has drawn attention to the forms of educational support that EM students receive in Hong Kong (The University of Hong Kong & Policy 21 Limited, 2012). Despite the availability of educational support for EM students before the implementation of the RDO, unequal treatment towards EM students, such as limited school options and access to higher education remained problematic (Loper, 2004). Closely linked to these educational inequities was the school allotment practice for EM students prior to 2004. EM students were mostly allocated to schools where the medium

of instruction of was English (Chee, 2011). This practice created an educational segment in Hong Kong where EM students concentrated in a number of “designated schools”, which turned into a segregated environment that facilitated little integration between EM and local Chinese students. Broadly, the label “designated school” was coined by the EDB to identify schools with high EM student concentration. These schools received additional resources and financial support from the government to cater to EM students’ Chinese language learning. While these additional resources were not necessarily unrecognised, the segregated schooling environment seemed to have created another layer of inequality that pointed to failure in integrating EM students with local Chinese students (Legislative Council, 2010, July, 2010, March; Tsang, 2010; Wong, 2005).

Supposedly the Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) has the capacity to broaden the educational support for EM students, at least by extending antidiscrimination laws to multicultural practices. However, Hong Kong’s policy making practice (Kennedy & Hue, 2011) did not seem to come to terms with the sociocultural background of EM students. Kennedy (2011) argued that this practice is undergirded by Confucian principles, which seeks to maintain harmony in the society by merely fulfilling international laws on antidiscrimination. It meant that social justice in Hong Kong tended to be a matter of sufficiency instead of equality when it came to school provisions, which partly explains the absence of a much extensive support for EM students (Kennedy & Hue, 2011). A manifestation of this practice is the EDB’s insistence on a singular Chinese language curriculum (Connelly, Gube & Thapa, 2013; Education Bureau, 2012), a much disavowed practice by NGOs that support the development of Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) curriculum. The EDB maintained that their role was to assist EM “students in adapting to the local education system and integrating into the community as early as possible” (Education Bureau, 2010, April). This pledge is fulfilled mainly by means of additional financial support and other forms of professional support to the above mentioned “designated schools”. These support mechanisms are summarised as follows:

- provision of a “Supplementary Guide” that is based upon the existing mainstream Chinese language curriculum
- provision of additional recurrent grant and professional support
- after-school extended Chinese learning activities
- dissemination of information for EM parents that promotes early integration
- teacher professional development programmes

(Education Bureau, 2013b)

The thrust of these support mechanisms is very much centred on EM students' acquisition of Chinese language by virtue of their integration to the wider society. While the government refused developing a CSL curriculum, the current school-based Chinese language curricula are laced with issues related to teachers' preparedness and their language proficiency in English to explain Chinese vocabularies to EM students (Connelly et al., 2013). The current educational provisions, as noted by Carmichael (2009) and Gao (2011), are not yet fully meeting the learning needs of EM students. Carmichael (2009), for example, showed how the existing assessment structure in Chinese language examination disadvantaged EM students. This was because EM students were required to take Chinese language public examinations, regardless of their proficiency or duration of education in Hong Kong, without adapting the curricula. Additionally, Carmichael speculated on the possibility of these support mechanisms in creating apartheid among Chinese and EM students in schools that could be detrimental to EM students' learning.

Significance of the Study

Because of the changing demographics of schools in Hong Kong, examining the relationships between educational environment and ethnic identity aims to enrich understandings pertaining to a key objective of the EDB, that is, "to provide a balanced and *diverse* school education that meets the different needs of our students; and helps them build up knowledge, values and skills for further studies and *personal growth*" (Education Bureau, 2013a, emphasis added). However, given the extensive focus of the educational discourse on developing EM students' Chinese language as described in the previous subsection, I maintain that the foci on diversity and personal growth in the EDB statement are not necessarily founded with values that promote EM students' cultural diversity. Accordingly, the increasing representation of EM students makes Hong Kong schools an ideal site for studies on ethnic identity, particularly when the links between ethnicity and personal growth of students are understated in the city's educational discourse. In contrast to many English-speaking immigrant receiving nations, Hong Kong's post-handover socio-political condition has positioned EM students to negotiate an ethnic identity in broader sociocultural processes that do not fully value cultural diversity. In other words, I argue that the dynamics of students' ethnic identity are shaped not only on the ground through their everyday schooling practices, but also through the institutional environment of schools as they respond to the city's wider educational initiatives and multiethnic student body.

Unlike studies on Chinese language learning that tend to see EM students in need of remediation by suitable curriculum and pedagogy, I suggest that it is crucial to elucidate the nexus between the schooling structure and students' ethnic identity negotiation in a stratified educational landscape. The segregated schooling structure of EM students (i.e., designated schools) does not create a monolithic site under the existing inequities where they integrate into the broader society through an environment that barely favours Chinese language learning. Instead, I maintain that the segregated schooling structure creates spaces for institutional and pedagogical practices to be negotiated, an environment that positions EM students to form ethnic identities embedded in the different contours of sociocultural processes as a result of socialisation and cultural practices with school members. In seeing identity as an analytic lens between the individual and society (Gee, 2000), this study lends support to the promotion of cultural sensitivity in Hong Kong's education system. It adds to the dialogue on the current educational provisions in multiethnic educational settings, which may challenge existing educational practices to be more "culturally responsive" (Hue, 2010, p. 41). I do so by tracing the emergence of ethnic identities linked to schooling experiences that expands understandings of the ethnicity of EM students in Hong Kong through explicit and implicit accounts of students as they responded to their educational climate.

Studies in other contexts have suggested associations between the ethnic identity development of minority students and their academic achievement (Feliciano, 2009; Klos, 2006; Singh, Chang & Sandra, 2010). As such, this study may open up conversations in teaching practice whether ethnic identity is linked to academic achievement associated with EM students in Hong Kong. More broadly, this study forges an alternative direction in studies of the interface of ethnic identity and multiethnic schools by paying close attention to how EM students experience shifts in ethnic identity embedded within the sociocultural processes of a multiethnic learning environment in a non-Western context. Where Western contexts have been hosts to many immigrant individuals, the migration pattern within Asia and its role in shaping the demographic conditions of emerging Asian multiethnic learning environments are yet to receive more research attention. Seen in this way, EM learners do not simply acculturate into a new learning environment and accept new identities in their host society. Rather, these learners are juxtaposed in the intercultural flows and diaspora embedded within their host society's socio-political condition, which "reflect a world order in which cultural groups, with their particular histories and memories, are increasingly moving and mixing to a degree which is unprecedented in human history" (Hermans, 2001b, p. 24). In placing Hong

Kong against this global backdrop, I argue that paying close attention to the tensions at play in multiethnic learning spaces highlights not only how EM students negotiate and develop unique forms of ethnic identity, but also how multicultural practices are enacted in learning environment as a result of implicit systematic inequities in broader educational discourse.

Research Problem and Thesis Structure

Although it could be tempting to focus on issues related to EM students' Chinese language development from a practical viewpoint, this thesis goes beyond language issues to explore EM students' ethnic identity related to the schooling environment. Particularly, I examine how their ethnic identity negotiation is intermeshed with the social structure of multiethnic schooling, wherein EM students attach meaning to and make sense of their ethnic identity (De Haan & Leander, 2011; Mirón, 1999; Nasir & Saxe, 2003). In sociocultural lens, such a sense-making process involves interacting with cultural tools – message systems that contribute to shifts in self-understandings – in a cultural environment (Wertsch, 1991). Specifically, this study aims to address the overarching question, accompanied by three sub research questions:

How do Filipino students negotiate their ethnic identity in a multiethnic secondary school in Hong Kong?

1. What cultural tools are embedded in a Hong Kong multicultural school that promote shifts in students' ethnic identity?
2. What cultural tools are foregrounded in the Chinese and English classes of a multiethnic secondary school that promote shifts in students' ethnic identity?
3. What cultural tools do Filipino students interact with that suggest continuity and discontinuity in ethnic identity?

Starting by describing how broader educational movements situate Hong Kong EM students in learning landscapes in the absence of multicultural initiatives (Chapter 1), this thesis moves from a discussion on the relationship between schooling and ethnicity (Chapter 2), to a theoretical consideration of ethnic identity (Chapter 3), to an ethnographic analysis (Chapter 4) of institutional practices of culturally diverse school in Hong Kong (Chapter 5), observations of classroom practices of teachers of junior and senior form Filipino students (Chapter 6), and an examination of dialogical tensions of Filipino students in their ethnic

identity negotiation arising from their schooling experience in Hong Kong (Chapter 7). I also consider the interrelationship between the schooling discourse and students' cultural positioning (Chapter 8) and end with a discussion of the study's implications and future research directions (Chapter 9).

CHAPTER 2: MAKING A MARK IN CLASSROOMS

MULTIETHNIC SCHOOLS AND THE “WHO” QUESTION

Introduction

Situating Filipino students within the wider EM student population of Hong Kong, the previous chapter overviewed the support mechanism for EM students. In this chapter, I discuss the links between multiethnic schooling environment and students’ ethnic identity negotiation, which provides a basis for the theoretical approach that can appreciate the nuances of ethnic identity within a particular context. It is organised around the research on EM students in Hong Kong and research on the interrelationship between schooling and ethnicity in the wider literature. For the purposes of this literature review, I use the broad term “ethnicity” to refer to EM students’ ethnic, cultural or racial identity as they are used interchangeably in the literature. These terms are not necessarily synonymous and I shall define “ethnic identity” in Chapter 3 in detail. In the literature review to follow, where necessary, I use the term “South Asian” (SA) to accurately reflect the authors’ original usage. As argued in Chapter 1, SA is more specific than EM. The following section first explores the educational climate of EM students in Hong Kong. Then, it elucidates the different facets of schooling processes that influence ethnic identity. The goal of this chapter is to map out the socio-political environment in Hong Kong pertaining to the development of educational provisions for EM students and to argue for a shift in focus on cultural issues in education that calls for a close scrutiny of students’ experience.

Education for Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, the bulk of the literature on EM has focussed on the Chinese language learning with relatively less work on the theme of ethnicity in the education context. This trend is not surprising because much of the educational initiative for EM students, as briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, sought to address their underachievement in Chinese language. The underachievement comes in tandem with EM students’ issues of educational inequity. It is also important to note that Hong Kong schools operate without the support of wider multicultural policy (Jackson, 2013; Kennedy, 2011) that partly undergirded the provisions for EM students. Although the Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) has been in place to protect individuals from discriminatory practices in the school admission process, there remains significant room for the RDO to be developed as a mechanism that promotes equity in education (e.g., mandating schools to practise cultural sensitivity).

Chinese Language Learning

The emphasis on Chinese language acquisition comes, in part, from the pragmatic beliefs surrounding Hong Kong education system (Chan & Hui, 2008; Kennedy, Fok & Chan, 2006). The Chinese language provision for EM students has resembled a simple supply and demand transaction. In other words, if EM students lack Chinese language proficiency, then the provision of Chinese language support on the government's part is pragmatic. This language learning need of EM students parallels a growing body of research concerning their Chinese language learning. In Lee's (2006) study of EM multilingual background teenagers in Hong Kong, she found that they were conversant with three different languages or dialects and were able to switch among languages. However, most of her participants were not versed in Chinese, so their multilingual skills were not of value from their point of view. This was because their limited proficiency in Chinese created difficulties for them to integrate with the wider community. Wong and Shiu (2009) examined 97 primary four EM students and found that they scored an average of only 27% in listening comprehension and 11% in reading comprehension in Chinese. Such proficiency level is regarded far below the desired level for Hong Kong primary one students.

Additionally, there is evidence suggesting that EM students are generally more competent in English writing than their Chinese counterparts because of the added exposure to English language (Cheung, 2006). In supplementing Cheung's findings, Shum, Gao, Tsung and Ki (2011) surveyed 301 EM students and their results indicated that EM students used Chinese in limited occasions and mostly preferred using English in casual interactions. Their study pointed out that EM students valued learning Chinese in a sense that it helps their career and academic advancements. These researchers concluded that EM students attached high instrumental value on their Chinese language learning but performed poorly because of inadequate home support in Chinese language. Probing further, a study from the same research team found that EM students were subject to constraints in career and academic choices due to religious practices and values, particularly female Pakistani students whose status, role, education and dress code were founded in their religious beliefs that prevented certain forms of social interactions (i.e., no contact with male) (Shum, Gao & Tsung, 2012). These researchers further pointed out how EM students encountered stereotypes at various levels of their relationship with local peers and teachers. More recently, Li and Chuk's (2015) study of the nature of learning Chinese in Hong Kong highlighted the incongruence between the linguistic features of Cantonese (spoken dialect) and standard written Chinese. In

particular, they noted how such the writing system “offers little clue to pronunciation, which makes it difficult to remember and practice, and easy to forget” (p. 220) and that South Asian (SA) students could make few links to spoken Cantonese when learning written Chinese. They also noticed how the lack of support networks beyond classes and financial resources to access a private tutor that prohibited South Asian students to seek additional Chinese language support. These studies paint a picture of EM students’ language use and some problematic aspects in their Chinese language learning process. This lack of skill in Chinese, as such, has become a marked profile of EM students in educational discourse of Hong Kong.

Educational Outcomes and Access

Other issues coupled with EM students’ Chinese language learning are their educational outcomes and access. The issue of educational access came forth after the handover of sovereignty from the English government to China in 1997. Prior to the handover, EM students were not required to have a pass in Chinese language subject. They could substitute the subject with a pass in French in General Certificate Secondary Examination. After 1997, there seemed to be a stronger preference among EM students to be proficient in Chinese language. This preference was evident in EDB’s discourse and provisions for EM students (Burkholder, 2013). Likewise, a Level 3 in HKDSE Chinese language HKDSE was required in many of Hong Kong’s undergraduate programs. This was perhaps due to the introduction of the language policy, which sought to cultivate literacy in Chinese and English, and spoken proficiency in Cantonese, English and Putonghua (or Mandarin). Though, some institutions accepted alternative requirements in lieu of HKDSE Chinese language. For instance, at The University of Hong Kong, prospective EM students may satisfy the requirement through admission interviews and application documents (Education Bureau, 2015; Joint University Programmes Admissions System, n.d.).

The post-1997 language policy, however, disadvantaged many EM students. Ku et al. (2005) reported that over half (56.5%) of their 200 respondents who were EM felt that they did not share the same educational opportunities compared to their local Chinese counterparts due to limited school choices. Drawing upon the narrative accounts of EM participants from a designated secondary school, Cunanan (2011) found that many of them possessed academic results that qualified them for many undergraduate programs in Hong Kong, only to find out that Chinese language fluency was a mandatory requirement that prevented them from enrolment.

Apart from policy changes after 1997 that influenced the examination requirements, the lack of educational access was also linked to a range of unpreparedness in developing appropriate pedagogical approaches for EM students' Chinese language learning. Tsung, Zhang and Cruickshank (2010), for example, who interviewed 31 Chinese language teachers from designated schools, revealed that Chinese was only taught as a subject and not through content areas. Tsung et al. also pointed out how teachers lowered their expectations on SA students instead of scaffolding their learning, which overall contributed to low educational outcomes of SA students.

These systematic issues in Chinese language education for EM, according to Kennedy (2012), reflected a monocultural view that foregrounded an ethos that all students can be educated with a singular curriculum. He proposed that EM students should be provided with alternative Chinese curriculum that offers skills and capacity "to contribute to their own future as well as that of Hong Kong" (p. 18).

Issues with respect to educational access are not limited to secondary EM students. Upon close scrutiny of census data, Bhowmik and Kennedy's (2012) estimated that 48% of EM children were not receiving pre-primary (early years) education with only 28% of those 48% could progress to junior secondary level. Although the census data should be treated with some care, Bhowmik and Kennedy's analysis provided a working assumption that a significant number of EM young people were probably not receiving education in Hong Kong. Furthermore, it can also be speculated that the lack of educational access was due to the poor dissemination of educational information to EM parents. For example, Oxfam Hong Kong (2014) found that only 19.1% of the SA parents they surveyed visited the government website to find primary school admission information and only 11.4% sought EDB's assistance in person for this process. These studies add clarity to the links between educational access and Chinese language achievement of EM students in Hong Kong. As well, an overall picture of the findings points to systematic issues that resulted in inequities associated with the schooling of EM students. If these scenarios are considered within the context of designated schools that systematically disintegrated them from local Chinese students, then it would not be difficult to allude to a "mindset" in Hong Kong's education system that does not fully appreciate cultural diversity (Connelly & Gube, 2013). This mindset, judging by the nature of support mechanisms for EM students as described in Chapter 1, places emphasis on Chinese language acquisition.

School and Home Support

The support of teachers and parents in the academic pursuits of EM students cannot be overlooked. In multiethnic schools, Hue (2010) showed that teachers displayed an awareness of their students' cultural differences and individual characteristics that helped prevented ethnic prejudices. In another study, however, that involved interviews with teachers from both designated and non-designated schools, Chan (2012) found that they supported a more inclusive environment for EM students in spirit, but held a pessimistic view towards its successful implementation. This perceived hindrance was due to a tight timeline to produce a tailored curriculum, misunderstandings in learning styles of EM, and mistrust on the ways schools allocated resources for their intended purposes. Gao (2012b), on the other hand, found that Chinese language teachers saw their role in transmitting Chinese cultural values to EM students while negotiating deficit notions associated with SA students' cultural background. Apart from language subjects, teaching content subjects, such as Information and Communication Technology, appeared to be problematic for Chinese teachers who lacked the linguistic skills to clearly articulate concepts in ways comprehensible to EM students (Connelly, 2012). These studies point to the diverse teacher response towards their multiethnic teaching environment, which reflected a complex picture on how they were negotiating their pedagogy they deemed appropriate.

Turning to EM students' learning environment at home, McNerney (2010b) examined the population characteristics of EM in terms of their socioeconomic backgrounds. Although recognising parents' role in EM students' education, McNerney observed that EM parents had low efficacy towards their children's education. EM parents placed strong emphasis on their children's education but rarely participated in their schooling. Another study indicated that EM parents were less likely to assist their children in school work compared with local parents due to lack of familiarity towards Hong Kong schooling (The Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 2010). Lisenby (2011) revealed how such a parental issue was prevalent even in EM children's early years, where EM parents cited the language barrier in Chinese as a factor that prevented them from supporting their children on homework. Similarly, SA parents in Tsung and Gao's (2012) study were not necessarily apathetic towards their children's education and future prospects. Rather, they felt helpless due to their limited proficiency in Chinese language. There were also accounts that suggested how Chinese teachers tended to view SA parents to be less ambitious compared to Chinese parents (Chee, 2012). Overall, these studies are indicative of the conflicting values and practices between

Chinese teachers and EM parents on education, which could make collaboration between teachers and parents challenging (Hue, 2010).

Ethnicity and Educational Climate

The structural issues associated with the educational environment in Hong Kong are not divorced from EM students' lifeworld. The convergence of the changing population in society with educational practices at the school level complicates the cultural juncture between the mainstream society and EM students, owing to the ways in which ethnicity is percolated by the sociocultural environment (Tsung & Gao, 2012) and the educational initiatives do not readily facilitate integration (Connelly & Gube, 2013). Despite this educational climate, there is no shortage of anecdotal accounts of EM students' attachment towards or tensions on identifying with their ethnic culture and Hong Kong (Cheng, 2010; Yang, 2013, March 10; Yu, 2009). Ku et al. (2005) found that, through self-reported surveys and interviews, EM students cultivated a strong ethnic pride and attachment towards Hong Kong. Particularly, their survey results indicated that 63% of their respondents self-identified as both their ethnic origin and a Hong Kong person, although the EM respondents were treated homogenously in this particular aspect of the study, and there was no further breakdown on how each ethnic group identified with the respective ethnic labels. However, accounts from various EM communities in Hong Kong also testified to the tensions between their ethnic background and being "international" (Lock & Deteramani, 2006), as well as social exclusion associated with wearing cultural dress (Ku, 2006).

In moving further from analyses of EM ethnicities at societal level, researchers have begun making more explicit accounts of how the forms of ethnicity are salient in education. Sharma (2012) compared two groups of SA students in Hong Kong – including a designated school and an international school. She suggested that those who linked SA identity with a higher social class, symbolised by an attachment towards international schools, tended to have higher academic expectations and that those at designated schools tended to have a compromised educational experience because teachers had to cater to the ability of the students. Drawing on EDB documents and interviews with EM students, Burkholder (2013) argued that the category "non-Chinese speaking" (NCS) was socio-politically and institutionally constructed and paralleled the segregation of EM students, which, in turn, facilitated few exchanges between EM and Chinese students that went against the aim of the EDB to integrate EM students with the locals. For Gu and Patkin (2013), the linguistic practices of SA students in school context played a significant role in their marginalisation in

the society, which highlighted their stronger affiliation with ethnic language compared to Chinese. The interface between SA students' linguistic practices and marginalisation, as Gu and Patkin argued further, stemmed from social experiences with parents, peers and societal discourse.

In a recent survey with 632 EM youth, Cheung, Lai, Wu and Ku (2014) found that ethnic identity was significantly associated with learning experience. These researchers argued that EM students who demonstrated stronger ethnic identity tended to have more favourable learning experiences. In a case study of a designated secondary school that explicitly promoted cultural diversity, Erni and Leung (2014) observed how EM students showcased their "ethnic flare" by actively participating in cheerleading in the school. The cheerleading activities, according to their Nepalese participant, were a space for students of different ethnic backgrounds who shared a common goal and developed social relationships. Fleming's (in press) ethnography in another designated secondary school illustrated how EM students were portrayed as experts of English language and different cultures. She traced how the school's language immersion schemes, where EM and Chinese students socialised with one another to exchange communication in English and Cantonese, became English authorities for Chinese students. English, as Fleming argued, was a symbolic capital that characterised EM students' ethnicities in the school.

In seeing the role of learning environment in shaping and defining EM students' ethnicity, it is important to reiterate that schooling experience is not monolithically "handed down" to students. Put differently, schools do not necessarily create a universal and static learning experience for students. Rather, learning environment and ethnicity dynamically intersect with each other especially in multiethnic contexts (Nasir & Cooks, 2009; Warikoo & Carter, 2009). A critical effort of this notion is to overcome tendencies to solely focus on the structural condition of the school in shaping students' ethnic identity. This is not to neglect the importance of broader narratives concerning students' learning condition, but to reframe the analytical attention towards how learning conditions shape local schooling practices (Nasir & Hand, 2006). Reflecting on the cultural disjuncture between Chinese teachers and SA students, Chee (2012, p. 101) put forth that "it is not the cultural disparities per se that are determinant. Rather, the key lies in the beliefs that certain culture clashes impede educational attainment, and the perceptions of educators concerning what they can do to counter these clashes". Similarly, while one can argue that ethnic identity is a matter of choice, an environment can shape this choice depending on how it is affirmed or discouraged. So the

question here is not so much about “what” the ethnic choice is, but “how” this ethnic choice is made in a particular context.

How Students are “Made Ethnic” in a School

Unlike Hong Kong, the migration history of Western nations has developed a large body of research on ethnicity and schooling environment. This is particularly the case in the U.S.A., where African-Americans were subjected to racial discrimination and the assimilative function of core curriculum that undermined EM students’ schooling success (e.g., Ogbu, 1992, 1995). Following African-American minorities, studies on Asian-Americans (e.g., Nadal, 2004; Park, 2008; Philip, 2007) and Latino-Americans (e.g., Cavazos-Rehg & DeLucia-Waack, 2009; Quintana & Scull, 2009) have helped ascertain the relationship between ethnic identity and psychosocial factors (i.e., coping, stress and other social factors) (e.g., Phinney, 1989, 1990, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). Noteworthy here is that EM individuals in these Western societies have widely adopted labels that denote bicultural identities, such as African-American, Korean-American and Chinese-American. In Hong Kong, however, it is still uncommon to see EM individuals being labelled as Indian-Chinese or Filipino-Hong Konger. As reflected in my interview data, there remains tension on who qualifies as Hong Konger or a bicultural Hong Kong-Filipino person.

While there are different aspects to consider in examining ethnic identity development, the role of schooling on ethnic identity (or vice versa) has been increasingly clear. For example, based on a study with 1062 Mexican-origin adolescents in the U.S., Umaña-Taylor (2004) found that ethnic identity was more prominent for those students when they receive education in a minority context compared to ones where they were the ethnic majority. Similarly, ethnic identity, academic achievement and adaptation to local culture were found to be reliable predictors of Latino youngsters’ self-esteem (Cavazos-Rehg & DeLucia-Waack, 2009). There were also accounts that pointed to the positive influence on educational beliefs through strong recognition of heritage (Okagaki, Helling & Bingham, 2009). Ethnic identity was also examined with reference to racial discrimination and socialisation in schools. Dotterer, McHale and Crouter (2009), for example, revealed how ethnic identity protected female African American pupils from discrimination. That means, strong ethnic identity functioned as a “psychological buffer” (p. 70), which led to seemed weaken the effects of discriminatory experiences. For male pupils, on the other hand, Dotterer et. al argued that those with stronger ethnic identity reported school bonding compared to those with low ethnic identity, regardless of discrimination experiences. More broadly, Feliciano (2009)

showed that the more educated minority individuals are, the more likely they are to adopt hyphenated identities (e.g., Mexican-American) instead of pan-ethnic labels (e.g., Latino-American).

In sum, the above studies imply the role of schooling on the ethnic identity shifts of minority students. Yet, it is also important to elucidate the interaction between schooling processes and ethnic identity that goes beyond describing their interrelationship. Understanding this interrelationship more has the potential to open up broader perspectives pertaining to cultural nuances of a social environment.

Schooling Structure and Teachers

Apart from the different individuals in schools that influence ethnic identity, the institutional arrangements of schools can shape the social mixture of schools that in turn have effect on individuals' perception on ethnic identity. Mirón and Lauria (1998) conducted a case study to investigate how identity politics played out in two high schools in the U.S. The first one, known as "City High", which had high admission standards, comprised an entirely African student body. The other school, "Neighborhood High" was ethnically more diverse and was known to have admitted less successful students. They found that the discourse in City High was built on solidarity that characterised the school's positive teacher-student and student-peer relations (i.e., not taking out resentment towards Whites). In stark contrast, Neighborhood High was characterised by ethnic conflicts among students that often evolved as verbal and physical abuse. Mirón and Lauria argued that despite the different ethos of both schools, they essentialised ethnic identity through the inclination of students towards academic success. Put differently, ethnic mix played out in the social experience of students in a school. Ethnic mix was also found to be a key consideration among EM students when choosing a university which was a way to sustain, value, and defend their ethnic identity (Ball, Reay & David, 2002).

In another study, Chhuon and Hudley (2010) observed and interviewed 52 Cambodian students in a U.S. high school that ran magnet programs (streamed subjects). They exposed how the Cambodian students were sensitive to the distinction between pan-ethnic and Cambodian identifiers. The students who were enrolled in prestigious magnet programs tended to assume a pan-ethnic label (Asian American) with overtones of the minority model (i.e., Asians who tend to perform well in education). The identification of being Cambodian, however, tended to be seen more negatively because of perceived misbehaviours attached to

the ethnicity and poor academic performance. Students with such an ethnic identification were generally not part of the school's prestigious magnet programs.

Another key consideration within the schooling structure that impacts on the ethnic identity of EM students is teachers. Differences on ethnic-related practices between teachers and EM students often presented challenges in classrooms, such as when ethnic majority teachers dismissed racial differences (Milner, 2003). Other schooling factors, for instance, when EM students posed distinct nonverbal communication styles that were unfamiliar to teachers (Nieto, 2004) could also influence ethnic identity dynamics in schools. Related to these dynamics, more broadly, were tensions in implementing multicultural curricula (Arber, 2005). Nieto argued further that poor cooperation between home and school can intensify underachievement of minority students, owing to the inconsistencies in the expectations between teachers and parents. These inconsistencies are often fuelled by practices that see EM students as unteachable (Morgan, 2010). Such cultural disjoints, whether overt or covert, are not to be neglected especially when they become ingrained in EM students' day to day discourse in classrooms.

Instructional discourse may be underpinned by teachers' teaching preferences for EM students. Dabach (2011) examined the teaching preferences of a group of teachers for "English learners" (EL) in separate content courses labelled as "sheltered instruction" (a remedial class that offered ELs access to content courses). She found that the reasons behind the teachers' preferences for one group over another were linked to intrinsic rewards (or dissatisfaction), for example, either the teachers felt they were committed to teaching EL students or not making an impact on them. Furthermore, teachers with EM background were found to have stronger affinity in teaching minority children as they shared the same background with the students. Although Dabach's work did not deal directly with students' ethnic identity, her findings open up considerations on racial biases that may underpin the instructional environment of EM students (e.g., Rist, 1973). A common manifestation of teacher assumptions in classrooms are pedagogies unchallenging to students and low expectations from teachers (Gay, 2010), adding another layer to the ethnic stratification of schools (e.g., stereotypes pertaining to academic achievement of certain ethnic groups).

In an Australian study, Allard and Santoro (2006) worked with a group of teacher education students to examine how they experienced ethnic and social class in their professional experience. They observed their participants' tendency to bypass ethnic difference (i.e., "everyone is the same" (p. 126)), while simultaneously posing themselves as

egalitarians. Allard and Santoro also noted how class was portrayed differently by the teacher education students. For example, while some spoke of being middle class as being related to one's welfare status and attitude, some presented views related to personal circumstances. Their findings pointed to how ethnicity and class were salient identity markers for the teacher education students as they negotiated the classroom dynamics of their culturally diverse students.

Peer and Cultural Practices

Immediate influences on the ethnicity of minority individuals are their peer relations and cultural practices within their schooling environment. For instance, Nasir and Saxe (2003) examined the cultural practices of African-American students in relation to the ethnic identity in a medical school. Particularly, they observed how an interaction between an administrator and the African-American student participant constructed domino playing as a practice contrary to being a medical student, while signalling an identity related to a working-class African-American community. An aspect that often caused tensions around their ethnic identity was racism (Dotterer et al., 2009; Nasir & Hand, 2006). In their work with newly settled female Filipino immigrant secondary students in Hawaii, Kim, Benner, Ongbongan, Acob, Din, Takushi and Dennerlein (2008) reported that the students experienced discrimination by peers in form of taunts and name calling. Their participants also recounted how they were treated less fairly in school. Ocampo (2013), on the other hand, reported a different scenario among Filipinos in the U.S. He found that Filipino Americans were given preferential treatment in schools due to their academic achievement over other immigrant students, such as Latino and African Americans, in tandem with the model minority notion. However, upon progressing to higher education, Ocampo's participants contested the Asian American identity, in which they began differentiating their experiences as Filipino Americans when they did not fare well in particular majors, such as Science. It is important to note that Ocampo's participants had resided in the U.S. much longer than those Kim et al. interviewed.

In the British context, Aveling and Gillespie (2008) examined the cultural positioning of Turkish minority teenagers. In extrapolating their participants' narratives, Aveling and Gillespie's analysis exposed three different dominant positions that marked the hybrid identity of young Turkish immigrants, demonstrating a dominant Turkish position that represents their strong association with Turkish culture, asserting a lack of access to an English identity (invoked by their mainstream school life), and a combination of the two –

“Young-Turk-in-England”. Aveling and Gillespie concluded that these Turkish young people’s I-positions were a result of competing discourses that segregated them from the majority English. As a consequence, while ethnic identity can be an individual choice, it can also be a choice, in part, afforded to individuals (Song, 2003), in which schooling experiences are intermeshed with ethnic choice. In Ireland, O’Sullivan-Lago and Abreu (2009) argued, based on their interviews with Irish nationals, immigrants and asylum seekers, attending schools in Ireland bore a cultural corrective function. Although their study explored immigration in broad terms, they found that the Irish participants perceived school as a crucial pathway to understanding Irish culture. The asylum seekers also saw sending their children to Irish schools as a way of blending into the broader society.

Furthermore, Crafter and Abreu (2010) showed how minority individuals negotiated learning practices between home and school to represent their home and host culture’s identities through markers that represented negotiation of learning achievement rooted in home practices, such as drawing on parents’ knowledge in a particular subject.

A closely knitted notion with cultural practice is linguistic practice. While it is possible to conceptually distinguish the two, they are often entangled when an individual makes sense of their own identity. In Gao’s (2012a) study on ethnic Koreans, she found her participants simultaneously occupying a Chinese and Korean positions. Gao further observed how speaking Chinese was used to identify with the mainstream culture and speaking Korean was a means of identifying with the home Korean culture, which positioned her participants “across different cultural communities of practice” (p. 350) mediated by their schooling experience.

As these studies suggest, schooling experience is not monolithic for EM students in a sense that ethnicity can be shaped by various cultural processes in education. Schooling can vary in terms of institutional arrangements that impinge upon the relationships and instructional environment that play a significant role in the shifts of students’ ethnic identity. Also, because “identity is embedded, distributed and spread among geographical locations, people, social institutions, activities and practices, and artifacts” (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014, p. 44), EM students respond to their school life differently. Therefore, instead of merely focussing on what an ethnic label entails, it is also important to examine the manufacturing of such a label in a schooling space, both structurally and individually, which brings to fore the original concern of this study – how does ethnic identity come about and

what cultural processes are involved in multiethnic schools if one sees these spaces as a conduit to wider social experience?

Classrooms and Cultural Dynamics

Dealing with questions on ethnic identity in multiethnic learning environments often comes down to cultural dynamics in classrooms. Cultural dynamics, in the context of this study, is not simply about how EM students bring in their own cultural background to their schools. It is also about how school authorities and teachers respond to their institutional environment given their students' cultural diversity. Such a reframing is considerable given the presence of EM students in Hong Kong schools and current educational initiatives that have allowed for schools to flexibly cater to EM students learning needs. In other words, there is no prescriptive standard on how EM students should exactly be taught owing to the absence of standardised Chinese language curriculum and broader policies on cultural diversity. Seemingly, the current form of provision relies much on teachers' effort, which can be evidenced by the need for tailor specific forms of provision based on the EDB's mandate to provide school-based curriculum.

Describing the ramifications of the current education provisions in Hong Kong multiethnic classrooms involves detailing how "the environment and the culture provide the 'material' upon which constructive mental processes will work" (Resnick, cited in Hatano, 1993, p. 164). Put differently, examining the shifts in ethnic identity necessitates analyses not only on the context per se, but also on what constitutes the context. In borrowing the work of Griffin, Belyaeva, Soldatova and Velikhov-Hamburg Collective (1993) on educational software design, a useful analogy here is the ways in which computer programs are designed for users. The technical scope of a program is based not so much on its interface and features, but the assumptions of programmers about the users. These assumptions are motivated by programmers' considerations on what are familiar to a community (e.g., interface of an operating system) and how a particular software function would help achieve the purposes of a user. In adopting this analogy, one can assume that a form of pedagogy is not just about teaching delivery (software), but also about the kinds of assumptions that teachers (programmers) make about their students that inform their teaching. Developing this idea further in a multiethnic learning context, it would then be misleading to argue that teachers construct their pedagogy without their students and institutional facilities in mind, especially if the students are culturally different from them. As such, tracing the cultural dynamics in

pedagogical contexts warrants the analysis of the nature of teaching as well as the assumptions being made that undergird the forms of teaching.

This idea can be supported by Singh's (2001) study on the classroom organisation and practices of a Queensland-based disadvantaged secondary school focusing on the views of Samoan community members. Using a Bernsteinian analysis, Singh revealed how teachers in the school misunderstood Samoan students, which constructed a barrier between Samoan and non-Samoan students. This misunderstanding, as Singh examined further, was related to the expectation on teachers to understand Samoan students' background in a limited timeframe. The misunderstanding was also due to the fragmented information on Samoan students that were available to the teachers. In turn, the teachers developed only a generalised understanding of the Samoan students, which, culturally speaking, in the eyes of the community members, undermined the educational needs of Samoan students. Additionally, Singh's interview data showed how the white English speaking norm underwrote the transmission and organisation of knowledge in the school. She pointed out, for example, how her Samoan participants compared the teacher-student relationship differences between Samoan and Australian contexts, specifically how Samoan students were not given freedom in Samoan classrooms compared to those in Australian schools. In the eyes of Singh's Samoan participant, the freedom in Australian context was "given by the school to the children to do what they want" (p. 7). This observation was in contrast to the Samoan value that children should be disciplined to show respect to elders. By the same token, as the participant added, talking back to teachers was discouraged in Samoan culture, which, however, was seen as a prevailing norm in Australian classrooms.

Paying attention to these relations in classrooms enabled the examination of cultural gaps not in terms of what individuals conceived of the teaching, but how the school knowledge and pedagogical practices were organised in contrast to the prevailing Samoan cultural values. In particular, Singh (2001) highlighted the cultural gaps between the school teachers and Samoan community members, which made explicit the sources of cultural mismatches in multicultural classrooms. Singh, however, did not examine the views of the teachers or observe their classrooms that could have had painted a more holistic account of the cultural mismatches her participants reported. Nevertheless, Singh's use of Bernsteinian concepts is promising in terms of unravelling the internal dynamics in classrooms. Particularly, this analytical approach can help underscore how teacher assumptions operate in what Daniels called "school modality" (Daniels, 2012, p. 10). School modality looks into

“the discursive, organizational and interactional practice of the institution” (p. 10). This view begins with an assumption that institutions are capable of structuring and organising information and communication through institutional members’ exertion of power and control (Daniels, 2012), such as how teachers choose and deliver their curriculum to students. If one takes schools as a site for negotiation of ethnic identity, then it is vital to examine how a school’s institutional environment acts as a placeholder that drives social interactions among school members. From this perspective, it becomes possible to inquire into the institutional structure, teachers’ assumptions and pedagogy, which overall form the cultural environment of the students, possibly contributing to shifts in students’ ethnic identity.

Cultural clashes in classrooms can also be studied using bottom up approaches, often through the ways in which students reposition themselves in a learning environment, such as microanalysis of classroom interactions. Hirst’s (2003) work is illustrative of such an approach. Drawing on video data, Hirst detailed an interaction between an Indonesian teacher and a group of Year 7 ethnically-mixed students in a Languages Other Than English (LOTE) classroom in Northern Australia. The analysis centred on a textbook that introduced students to basic Indonesian vocabulary about family. Among her description of the interactional turns between the LOTE teacher and the students, Hirst observed how a female student mocked the Indonesian teacher by making fun of the Indonesian word “adik” (younger sibling), which bore similarity with the colloquial expression of a male’s sexual organ “a dick”. Hirst particularly noticed how the female student prolonged the pronunciation the Indonesian word on purpose not because the student was eager to learn the pronunciation of the word, but to recast it as a form of humour. Further, a male student joined the interaction as he appeared to be showing contempt towards the female student’s use of the Indonesian word. In effect, as Hirst argued, the male student positioned himself as an authority in the interaction as he questioned his female peer’s behaviour. Hirst suggested that the female student’s mockery of the language reflected a racial practice, which subjugated the LOTE teacher as an outsider of the dominant Australian culture. Hirst attributed this situation partly to the inadequate support of LOTE teachers received in Australia, which could at times be read as individual incompetence of those teachers.

A few points can be raised about Hirst’s (2003) study. First, it described how identity tensions occurred when persons of different cultural backgrounds interact. Particularly, she captured how the students negotiated their identity in the classroom as they interacted with the Indonesian word “adik”, which became a particular social transaction that shaped the

roles of the LOTE teacher and the students. Although Hirst did not analyse the students' shifts in ethnic identity in a narrow sense, her findings supported that intercultural interactions in classrooms were recipe for people to reposition their identities. Such a repositioning marks the responses of people as they interact with others who are culturally different from them. Although the female student in Hirst's study was provoked by the sexual reference of "adik" in English, one cannot discount that this interaction as a result of contact between two cultures (Australian and Indonesian). If cultural dynamics stand to be a venue for individuals to cross cultural boundaries as they reposition themselves in a given environment, then one can expect shifts in EM students' ethnic identity in Hong Kong. In turn, the cultural mix between teachers and EM students makes it possible to speculate the presence of cultural dynamics in multiethnic classrooms and the education system of Hong Kong. This is, for example, tensions that may arise between Hong Kong teachers and EM students as students reframe their acculturation experiences based on their integration attitude when learning Chinese language (Lai, Gao & Wang, 2014). However, what seems understated in Hirst's observation was how the LOTE teacher organised the classes and the rationale behind the pedagogy; in other words, Hirst's analysis revealed little about how the LOTE teacher was supported or not supported in the school. Crucially, if teachers are seen as regulators of schooling discourse (Daniels, 2001), how teachers are positioned to teach students depend not only on their knowledge of the students' academic and cultural background, but also how a school positions teachers to support students' learning and cultural diversity.

Building on the studies of Singh (2001) and Hirst (2003) to examine Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic classrooms, I argue that it is not sufficient to explore the dynamics of ethnic identity either solely from structural or individual point of view. Instead, in this study, I view Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation partly as a result of institutional conditions embedded within a multiethnic learning environment. As Daniels (2012, p. 10) argued, examining the relations in institutional context "is not just a matter of the structuring of interactions between the participants and other cultural tools; rather it is that the institutional structures themselves are cultural products that serve as mediators in their own right". In this sense, ethnic identity is not purely an individual choice but partly a choice complicit in the institutional environment of the school, which enabled different forms of discourse that students interact with.

This consideration builds on an assumption that as students enter their school community, they become exposed to discourses, willingly or unwillingly, which stand to be an amalgamated arena for shifts in students' ethnic identity. The discourses that people are exposed to are "complex semiotic architectures offered by our cultural environment" that become subsumed with individuals' day to day experience (Gillespie & Zittoun, 2013, p. 525). What this point ultimately raises is how communication and discourse in schools are designed and organised; and how these organised communication and discourse become subsumed in students' ethnic identity. This is not to critique top down perspectives that aim to reveal how structural elements reproduce identities and bottom up perspectives that seek to understand how individuals respond to their given environment. Rather, in engaging with the complexities in Hong Kong's schooling environment for EM students, at a macro level, I describe how a school is positioned within the wider EDB provisions; at a meso level, I detail how teachers respond to such an institutional arena of the school, which produce social and pedagogical patterns that form the discourse of multiethnic schooling. At a micro level, I investigate how these connections between institutional and pedagogical patterns can be a vital social currency that sustains and disrupts the development of ethnic identity. In particular, I examine how Filipino students culturally reposition themselves in light of their multiethnic schooling experience.

This combined analytic lens, as I will illustrate in Chapter 3, offers a vantage point to explore not only Filipino students' negotiation of ethnic identity, but also a pathway to trace how pedagogical and institutional resources underwrite the forms of social interactions in a particular learning environment. By looking at the different layers of their learning context, I suggest that Filipino students participate in a cultural environment — resultant of schools' effort to reframe their institutional structure and teachers' negotiation of their pedagogies — which implicitly intersects with the ways students make sense of their Filipino and Hong Kong identities.

Chapter Summary: Towards a Re-making of Ethnic Identity

At the heart of this study is a belief that ethnic identity is a deeply human process intricately entwined with schooling experience. In line with this belief, one needs to overcome assumptions that EM students undergo a simplistic acculturation experience (Prokopiou, Cline & de Abreu, 2012) as if learning Chinese will resolve all their educational issues in Hong Kong. Put differently, it is important to consider how EM students dynamically respond to their learning environment rather than assuming they adjust to a new

culture in homogenous fashion. Such a consideration speaks directly to Hong Kong as the prevailing educational initiatives tend to focus on developing EM students' Chinese language. This is not to undervalue these initiatives or dismiss the changes they have brought about to EM students. Rather, I posit that overemphasising these initiatives can overshadow other cultural diversity issues inflecting upon EM students' schooling experience. If cultural diversity issues are overlooked, schools could run the risk of becoming "a separate world, unconnected to people, their families, and their communities" (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014, p. 44). As such, I suggest that there are grounds to speculate that tangible and subtle cultural processes are in play in Hong Kong multiethnic schools that promote shifts in ethnic identity of EM students.

In exploring the cultural processes conceptually, scholars have long advocated for approaches sensitive to contextual factors (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011) through multilevel analyses (Ochoa, 2010) that account for the multidimensionality of ethnic identity (Borrero & Yeh, 2011; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). To appreciate such approaches, however, it is important to overcome ontological views on ethnic identity rooted in primordialism (kinship related to blood relations) (Cornell & Hartman, 1998) and psychological properties that drive ethnic self-identification (e.g., Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1989). Such views are often irrelevant in multiethnic contexts, which tend to treat analytically ethnic identity "as mere dummy variables" (Warikoo & Carter, 2009, p. 366), leaving little room to capture its fluidity (e.g., I am a Filipino *by blood*. It is a fact and it will not change!).

Hence, to illustrate the negotiation processes of ethnic identity in a multiethnic school, adopting a perspective that draws out their interrelationship will not only help reveal how ethnic identity is defined, but also shed light on some social transactions implicit in a multiethnic school.

In the next chapter, I will articulate the theoretical concepts for this study, which argues that individuals do not only negotiate ethnic identity across different contexts (i.e., home and school), but also within a specific multiethnic context that spans across the sociocultural hierarchy of institutions.

CHAPTER 3: REMAKING ETHNIC IDENTITY

CAN I STILL BE MYSELF AROUND THEM HERE? DIVERSITY *WITHIN* SCHOOLS

Introduction

Against the backdrop of the educational provision for EM students in Hong Kong that has created racial segregation tendencies as discussed earlier, this chapter turns to the interrelationship between the institutional settings of multiethnic schools and ethnic identity negotiation. In Chapter 2, I described the educational climate of EM students in Hong Kong; I highlighted the need to go beyond the emphasis on Chinese language learning in considering cultural diversity issues. In illustrating the intersections of schooling experiences and ethnicities of EM students in other contexts, I proposed to elucidate the context wherein ethnic identity is negotiated and the process of ethnic identity negotiation itself. In this chapter, I draw out how communication and teaching are organised within an institutional environment of schooling and how individuals respond culturally to such an environment. I argue for a much nuanced view on the intersections of schooling environment and ethnic identity. In other words, ethnic identity shifts occur not only in multiple contexts as students move between home and school, but also within a specific context as they interact with ethnically different teachers and peer groups at a school. Rather than passive receivers of schooling discourse, students actively engage in relationships with people at different contextual layers and in varying extent in multiethnic schools as they make sense of who they are ethnically. In essence, I reflect on an identity phenomenon that may speak to EM individuals in multiethnic schooling environments in this chapter, as suggested by the chapter title: Can I still be myself around them here?

Balancing Diversity and Negotiating Identity: A Theoretical Overview

Ethnic identity negotiation deserves a close analysis because the cultural diversity of multiethnic schools in Hong Kong exists within a social fabric that barely promotes broader multicultural initiatives. While I do not suggest that there are no multicultural initiatives in Hong Kong's education system at all, the literature tends to point to how anti-racist laws have only protected the EM people from racist experiences at a legal level (e.g., Kennedy, 2011; Kennedy & Hue, 2011). Also, as discussed in Chapter 2, the focus of the provisions is predominantly on EM students' Chinese language development with little emphasis on recognising EM students' cultural diversity in the wider society. In turn, I suggest that the

juxtaposition of facilitating EM students' integration and recognising their cultural diversity has been the ground wherein multiethnic schools operate in Hong Kong.

Instead of focussing on the historical roots of these multiethnic schools, I describe how the classroom environments of EM students can be analysed to highlight their intersections with the broader educational initiatives. That is, at a meso-level with regards to the institutional structure and organisation of a learning environment, I draw upon Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing that form the social order of institutions to explore how the discursive order — certain forms dominant schooling discourses — is at play in multiethnic classrooms. From this vantage point, one can highlight how multiethnic schools do not monolithically organise their schooling structure and pedagogical environment, as illustrated in Fig 3.1. In other words, to account for the forms of cultural dynamics in this environment, I examine a context wherein schools and teachers actively reframe their institutional environment and teaching along with the educational provisions and considerations on EM students' learning needs.

At a micro-level, I focus on the accounts of Filipino students and examine how their school life has shaped how they make sense of their ethnic identity. I analyse how Filipino students ethnically position themselves as they draw upon the different threads of their day to day experience within the sociocultural hierarchy of their multiethnic school. As shown in Fig 3.1, I highlight how students engage with cultural tools through everyday practices that form social relationships (with peers and teachers); intersecting with this social currency is an institutional structure (schooling organisation) that forms the clustering of social relations (peer networks). I integrate dialogical self theory (DST) and a sociocultural theory to conceptualise ethnic identity negotiation. While DST helps clarify the multiple positions that individuals establish across internal thought processes and external environment (i.e., who I am in relation to who and what), sociocultural thinking helps illustrate the different layers within an external environment that individuals draw upon that trigger shifts in ethnic identity (i.e., who and what in relation to where and when).

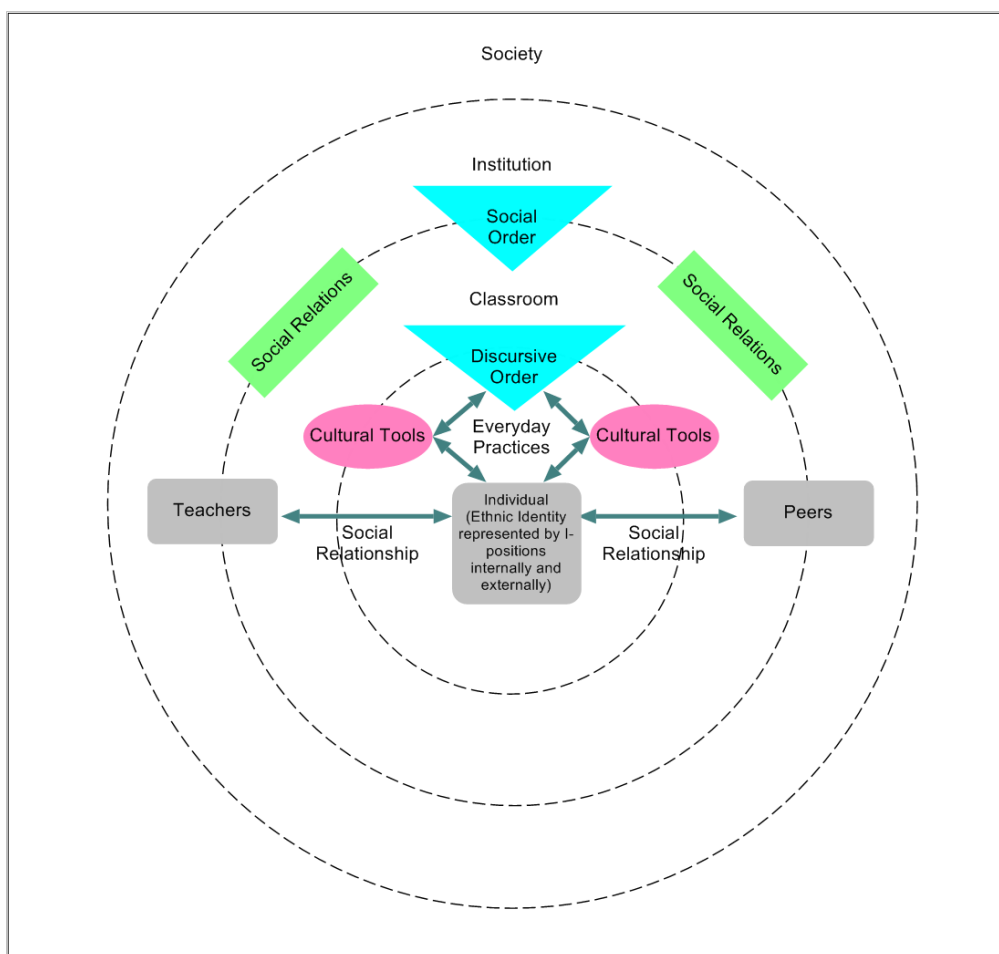


Figure 3.1. Theoretical mapping of ethnic identity in an institutional environment.

The following discussion is organised around the theoretical map in Fig 3.1. My purpose is to establish a set of vocabularies that allows for the analysis of ethnic identity negotiation without losing sight of the volatility of the institutional environment of multiethnic schools in Hong Kong (Kennedy, 2012). Thus, the discussion addresses the following:

- pedagogic discourse (social order and discursive order) as a means to elucidate the underpinnings of institutional structure and pedagogical context of schools;
- the links between ethnic identity and DST;
- the sociocultural bases of cultural positioning through cultural tools;
- schooling discourse as portal to ethnic identity negotiation.

Viewing from this integrated lens, students do not arbitrarily negotiate their ethnic identity. Instead, by looking at the different clusters of relations within the school, students' sense of ethnic identity, whether they see themselves as Filipino, Hong Kong person or something else, is founded by certain forms of social interaction driven by particular classroom and institutional ethos.

Pedagogic Discourse

To explore how ethnic identity is at play within an institutional environment, it is important to account for the ways in which discourse is enabled. Here, the model of pedagogic discourse is outlined, which is broadly understood as “a source of psychological tools or cultural artefacts” (Daniels, 2001, p. 135). Cultural tools are message systems that shape social and individual processes that take place in interactional situations (Wertsch, 1991). In this light, what is communicated to students in schools bears defining features. Simply put, how a person characterises a “good student” or “bad student” is often accompanied by certain forms of action, message, conversations or rules. The focus, therefore, is not on the structure of a school per se, but on how cultural tools are regulated and controlled. This regulation can be understood through the concepts of classification and framing.

Classification

Classification is employed to illustrate how boundaries are created in an institution (Bernstein, 1996). This notion can be thought of in terms of curriculum, subject, staff-student relations or institutional arrangements “that constitute the division of labour in the field” (p. 20), or any social and structural groupings that define particular constituents in an environment. For Bernstein, the emergence of categories is not defined through the insulation that separates one constituent from another. In this vein, classification concerns how and to what extent boundaries are produced among categories. A classification is considered strong when a particular category is made distinctive through ostensible demarcation, such as differences between English and mathematics subjects. These two subjects, for instance, are strongly defined by their respective disciplinary knowledge. That means, there are few overlaps between what students learn in English and Mathematics.

Accordingly, this classification system is regulated by power. When this power is exerted more explicitly, the insulation is thickened that makes categories more distinct. For example, if a school implements an English-speaking only rule and when teachers strictly enforce the rule, then students who do not abide by it will be identified as disobedient. Those, on the other hand, who follow the rule, will be categorised as obedient. This is because an external facet of the classification system is to create “order, and the contradictions, cleavages and dilemmas which necessarily inhere in the principle of a classification are suppressed by the insulation” (Bernstein, 1996, p. 21). This cleavage can be represented by how strongly teachers enforce the rule – the gap that sustains between disobedient and

obedient students. So long as the teachers strictly and consistently enforce the English-speaking only rule, then those two types of students are more pronounced. In contrast, if teachers loosely enforce the rule, it becomes difficult to identify who are obedient or disobedient. This loose rule enforcement, consequently, creates an illusion that there is no difference between obeying and disobeying the rule.

The point here is that the stronger the insulation is, the more distinct identities can be. Accordingly, the internal facet of classification, as bounded by the insulation, is “a system of psychic defences against the possibility of the weakening of the insulation” (Bernstein, 1996, p. 21), for example, the subject matter itself or topics included in a particular discipline. The boundaries of these subjects, however, can be blurred when disciplinary knowledge is incorporated from one subject to another, such as the case of Liberal Studies in Hong Kong (a secondary school social science oriented subject that integrates language and mathematical knowledge) or Humanities and Social Sciences in Australia (history and geography knowledge that spans across the subject). Classification speaks of categorisation within an environment – the ‘what’. Understanding what makes possible such categorisation leads to the concepts of framing.

Framing

Framing, in broad terms, is concerned with “*who* controls *what*” (Bernstein, 1996, p. 27). This notion dovetails with classification as it exposes how identities are given in particular contexts. As a consequence, framing gives analytical focus on how the selection of the communication, sequencing, pacing, criteria, and social base is controlled. Selection of communication deals with what messages (or cultural tools) are to be transmitted (e.g., curriculum, texts, subject topics). Sequencing refers to the order of information or how one type of information is privileged over the others (e.g., topics that are given more emphasis). Pacing is the rate of how particular information is expected to be acquired (e.g., progress that needs to be made in lessons to achieve a learning outcome). Criteria concerns how such information is evaluated (e.g., assessments, tests). Control over social base refers to how transmission is made possible (e.g., teacher’s decision, curriculum requirement, school ethos).

Bernstein (1996) argued that in effect when framing is strong, individuals who transmit the information control all of the five components above. When framing is weak, on the one hand, individuals who acquire the information have more “*apparent* control” (p. 27) on what is being communicated. Also, Bernstein maintained that it is possible to have more control on one component over others, for example, more control on pacing and less on the

others. Framing are the rules of social order and discursive order. Social order refers to institutional relations that subject an individual to labelling. In effect, when framing is strong, the labels are more likely to be projected clearly. Discursive order is the “selection, sequence, pacing and criteria of the knowledge” (p. 28); the ways in which message systems are transmitted to individuals.

From Schooling Discourse to Dialogues in Ethnic Identity

Teachers’ response to cultural diversity in Hong Kong has been mixed based on the studies reviewed in Chapter 2. While some teachers tended to see teaching EM students as a means to foster cultural sensitivity in their classroom management (e.g., Hue & Kennedy, 2012), others remained pessimistic about the pedagogical practicalities of teaching EM students, such as time constraints and administration demands (e.g., Chan, 2012). The mixed response perhaps stemmed from not only the culturally diverse student body in Hong Kong schools per se, but also the non-interventionist approach of the government in offering support mechanism for multiethnic schools, such as the absence of a uniform curriculum on Chinese as a Second Language. Schools were given a free-hand in devising school-based curriculum in Chinese language for EM students and deploying financial resources. Consequently, it is no surprise to observe that Hong Kong schools exemplify distinctive responses or provisions to EM students at school level. Some schools might be more multicultural in their approach compared to others – more explicit in the way they recognised their students’ diversity. One way to understand the effects of such policy arrangement is to articulate their pedagogic practice outlined above. Bernstein’s (1996) work can expose the modality (variation in control over) of schooling provisions that underpin the interactional practices (Daniels, 2001) and thereby underscoring the practices that contribute to the identities of students through the forms of categorisation and narratives engendered at institutional and classroom levels. Negotiation of ethnic identity is not simply handed down to students by schools, as discussed in Chapter 2. Rather, through the current state of education provisions at policy level, educators negotiate their practices emerging from shifts in the socio-political arena and the multiethnic student body of the schools.

In moving further to understand ethnic identity at individual level, it must be noted that Bernstein spoke of social reality in structuralist terms (Doherty, 2006). From a conceptual standpoint, Bernstein’s (1996) model pays attention to how schooling structure is organised and “cultural transmission” is enabled (Daniels, 2001, p. 138) through the discursive practices that educators and other institution members enact. However, Daniels

went on to note that Bernstein's model is less developed in terms of accounting for how individuals respond to their institutional environment. In other words, while the interactional practices can lead one to examine how pedagogic and social relations are enabled in institutions, the analytic gaze is directed not towards the individual, giving no direct conceptual account of how students may respond to institutional discourse and pedagogic practices contribute to shifts in ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity shifts is not simply given by the school. To receive a particular identity, an individual will first react, think and decide before accepting or rejecting it. In a simple analogy, the process resembles how a young boy may react to a present (say a helicopter toy) handed to him. The boy's liking of the present can be seen in his excitement or disappointment, whether he plays with it fervently or simply casts it aside. I argue that a similar, but more complex, phenomenon takes place when understanding ethnic identity in a socio-politically and culturally shifting school context, where "these worlds are largely disjunctive", coupled with "uncertainties, contradictions, ambiguities and contrasting interests" (Hermans, 2001a, p. 275). Therefore, treating ethnic identity negotiation as a constant dialogue with the schooling discourse can draw attention to the institutional dynamics of multiethnic schools. In this following section, I integrate dialogical self theory (DST) and a sociocultural framework to illustrate conceptually ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic education context. This is not to dismiss the analytical strength of Bernstein's work (1996). Rather, I suggest that when pedagogic discourse model is combined with dialogical and sociocultural accounts of ethnic identity, it is possible to offer descriptions of ethnic identity shifts bi-directionally, that is, to analyse ethnic identity negotiation both from a top down and bottom up perspectives.

Ethnic Identity and Dialogical Self

Ethnic Identity

This thesis departs from the broad understanding that ethnic identity is "an affiliative construct, where an individual is viewed by *themselves* and by *others* as belonging to a particular ethnic or cultural group" (Trimble & Dickson, 2005, p. 418, emphasis added). Trimble and Dickson's consideration on self and other paves the way to understanding ethnic identity as part of complex socialisation processes of individuals with other people, not merely a process resulting from the biological or physical makeup of a person. Furthermore, Trimble and Dickson asserted ethnic identity's dependence on context and situation, through which individuals interact with cultural elements situated in specific time and space. Thus,

understanding ethnic identity negotiation necessitates considerations on self in two ways. First, the self is partly autonomous (Hermans, 2001a) in that individuals choose to associate themselves with cultural group(s). Second, self is dependent upon the space an individual is exposed to and those they interact with. To place ethnic identity negotiation within the DST framework, I use aspects of Bakhtin's (1981) writing on dialogism to depict the meaning-making processes in dialogical relationships.

Dialogism

An important feature of dialogism is the continual engagement of an individual with other people and artefacts, not just in in-situ interaction, but also by imaginational interaction (when thinking about what other people say to us). Bakhtin's (1981, p. 426) popular analogy in literary works is that novel authors continually borrow other writers' ideas in authoring their own writing. As he succinctly noted: "Everything means, is understood, as part of a greater whole – there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others". Meanings, in this sense, are not self-composed, but grounded in time and space with others. Morson (1983, p. 230) articulated this proposition of Bakhtin more explicitly: "Meaning – in the sense of dictionary meaning – means nothing; it only has potential for meaning", which echoed Bakhtin's consideration that meaning is inherently meaningless, but societally and contextually defined. The nature of meaning is similar to that of folklore (Clark & Holquist, 1984), a product of traditions and reflection of a society, which is only established once it is welcomed by a community. Put differently, meaning is given, embodied and governed by those who enact them.

Meaning is an important basis of dialogical interaction. It is seen as a sociohistorical medium that goes beyond the scaffolds of textual information (Bakhtin, 1981). For Bakhtin, meaning is not agenda free, but functions as a tool that changes how human relationships, hence shaping not only ongoing interactions, but also how interactions are precipitated to reshape thinking, which suffice to say that language is "ideologically saturated", populated by "world view" and "concrete opinion" (1981, p. 271). Likewise, according to Morson (1983), meaning is mediated by discourse and one that mediates mental processes. If this line of thought is applied to interactions among individuals, it is worth reflecting on meaning-making processes embedded in dialogical activities and their capacity to condition the self (Valsiner & Han, 2008). Particularly, meanings are interpretive means susceptible to shift and movements through dialogical contacts (Petrilli, 2011). A consistent view throughout Bakhtin's insights is his reluctance to attach essentialist notions on language. This conception

reinforces that meaning is to be accounted for by a broader context. Meaning, in principle, is incomplete without considering implications of external forces. In this line of thought, one could argue that meaning is an important basis of dialogues, which constitute the complex and dynamic interplay between self and other.

Representation of Ethnicity through Voices and Tools

In accounting for the relationship between self and other, Hermans (2001a, p. 245) cited Bakhtin's (1981) idea that "dialogue opens the possibility of differentiating the inner world of one and the same individual in the form of an interpersonal relationship", which highlighted the interpersonal dimension of dialogism. Dialogues are composed of voices. Voice, in Bakhtin's lexicon, is not confined to the understanding of human voice – the way words are vocalized in conversation. Voice also includes "hypothetical conversations" (Morson, 1991, p. 1080) that run in the mind of individuals as one imagines or pre-empt other people's sayings, precipitating human's worldviews. Thus, the interpersonal feature of dialogism highlights not just verbal dialogues among people, but also mental processes that encompass exchange of heterogenic voices (Hermans, 2002; Wortham, 1999), defined as discrete but interconnected internalised mediating objects that enable a coherent understanding of the self (e.g., my teacher thinks I'm studious and my classmates think I'm a clever), or what Hermans (2001a) called "hypothetical dialogue" (p. 251).

Based on Raggatt (2010), self is construed by first understanding the symbolic systems that underlie it. This idea reinforces the multiplicity of I-positions (the way individuals position themselves in the world) in DST, implying that self is understood via a network of meanings and signs (Petrilli, 2011). Importantly, Raggatt cited Favareau's statement that can further guide us how self can be seen as a constant interplay of signs in DST:

Self-representation... is accomplished through a massively collaborative interaction of sign-exchange across countless nodes of mediation between cell, brain, body, and world. Neuronally, biologically and symbolically, 'self' is therefore cumulative, not primal. (2001, cited in Raggatt, 2010, p. 403)

Sign-exchange represents the dynamic function of meanings that straddle psychological, physical and social domains. In other words, meaning extends beyond the body (here-and-now interlocutions) that opens up theorisation of its psychological function (the way meaning shapes human's thinking). If one accepts the assumption that voices are made up of meanings, one can recognise voices as components of the DST. In this respect, DST is about how individuals act or respond to different meanings as a result of interactions

with people and artefacts as part of socialisation processes. This assumption can draw attention to the cumulative feature of ethnic identity, not what is merely claimed (e.g., ethnic labels), but also how it is claimed (e.g., I feel like I am Filipino because...); it endorses the mobility of I-positions in DST. That is, as Hermans (2003) maintained, cultural positioning is subject to constant movement, where self is reconstructed as one enters a new environment. Hence, ethnic identity negotiation squares with the volatility of dialogical processes that conceives the inter-animation between ethnic self and other as individuals exchange thoughts, interlocution and actions that denote ethnic characteristics. Consider the following remark:

To claim an ethnic identity (or to attempt to assign one to someone else) is to distinguish ourselves from others; it is to draw boundary between “us” and “them” on the basis of the claims we make about ourselves and them, that “we” share something that “they” do not. An ethnic group cannot exist in isolation. (Cornell & Hartman, 1998, p. 20)

Cornell and Hartman’s characterisation of ethnicity concerns not the blood ties but the categorisation of individuals ascribe to one another. Put differently, ethnic identity is foregrounded in the presence of others who legitimise and assert the identification of one’s membership in a particular ethnic group. If this postulation is considered in terms of exchange of voices, then it is possible to associate its indexical function with different forms of symbolic demarcation among different ethnic groups. In echoing Trimble and Dickson’s (2005) conceptualisation of ethnic identity, one can understand, through the dialogical lens, that as a person is socialised in a new geographical context, the person is exposed to voices and tools that could initiate movements in cultural positioning (Gillespie, Kadianaki & O’Sullivan-Lago, 2012). As Wortham (1999) argued, voices are capable of inferring one’s social position, which typify individuals’ interactional features in relation to a particular group. Thus, the discursive attempts of distinguishing, drawing boundaries and making claims (although not necessarily verbal and palpable) are at the core of dialogical activities that suggest one’s ethnicity.

Khanna’s (2011) work can illustrate the dialogicality of individuals’ deployment of cultural tools and voices as ethnic markers. She maintained that ethnic identity is symbolic because individuals draw on culturally suggestive meanings to express their ethnic characteristics, thus denoting their inclination towards a particular ethnic group. Khanna’s participant, who had a black mother and white Italian father, was reluctant to be solely labelled as black. Khanna’s analysis revealed that her participant drew on artefacts like

clothing, food and flags with connotations of Italian culture. This led Khanna to argue that the participant used those ethnic symbols not to avoid his black identity and only cling onto his partial whiteness, but to highlight his mixed ethnic background with an intention to avert negative stereotypes on blacks as illustrated below:

I like to cook a lot of Italian food and I follow soccer in Europe.... I have an Italian flag in my room and I have a lot of Italian sports clothing.... I have this shirt that says, "Italian Stallion" and it has a[n Italian] flag on it. And my girlfriend always kind of jokes about it and says, "I feel like sometimes you'd like to be seen as more Italian than black." I think I do because people don't really treat me like an Italian person. So I like it to be known.... My room has a poster of Italian architecture... [Other people] may ask me where I got it and then when I say "Italy," they're like, "Oh what do you mean?"... [I respond] "I'm Italian. My father got it from Italy." (Khanna, 2011, p. 1057)

Khanna's (2011) data illuminate DST at least in two ways. First, it supports Raggatt's (2010) observation that self is constructed based on meaning systems. Khanna's informant invoked artefacts related to Italian culture, attaching meaning to a supposedly dead object. Second, the participant grounded his own consciousness in the realm of Italian culture via the object's semiotic function to characterise his ethnic background. The participant's reference to the Italian objects points to the role of objects in reframing I-position. The cultural meanings of those objects have functioned "as an entry for contact with visible or invisible counter-positions" (Hermans, 2002, p. 154). From the excerpt, the Italian objects became the central means of Khanna's participant to reassert his cultural positioning as an Italian. In doing so, however, he recalled how 'people don't treat' him like an Italian person. 'People', emerging as a generalised other that represents dialogical tension, had distanced him from an Italian position. Meanwhile, as he wished his Italian background 'to be known', he turned to cultural objects to represent his Italian ethnicity. In making those claims on his ethnicity, the movements in the cultural positions were not a one-off process, he engaged with a host of sociocultural processes in arriving at his assertion on being Italian dialogically.

Here, cultural positioning is seen in terms of how individuals deploy their relationships with people, at times mediated by cultural tools, invoking their consciousness regarding their ethnicity. This is not to suggest that ethnically suggestive objects per se constitute cultural positioning. Rather, it is an intermeshed phenomenon of individuals and their sociocultural setting. Seen in this way, the individual, say Khanna's participant, was

only able construct his ethnicity, not because of the sports clothes itself, but the wider cultural meaning it represents – a sporting culture known to Italians, symbolised by a stallion and a flag and rejecting other generalised positions contradictory to the cultural position he claimed. Establishing this cultural positioning necessitates considerations on the trail of sociocultural elements, in which the individual and objects are emplaced instead of treating them in isolation. This consideration is in line with modern dialogical conceptions in seeing self as culture-inclusive (Joerchel, 2013), which will be discussed in the next section. The dialogicality of ethnic identity negotiation recognises the interplay of self and other as meaning-exchange processes with particular attention to ethnically suggestive dialogues and objects. This step consequently draws attention to not only the person, object or culture itself. It is essential to consider all those elements in parallel. That is, I argue, ethnic identity negotiation, when viewed as dialogical activity, is constituted through ethnic demarcations through engagement with cultural tools emplaced in a sociocultural milieu.

The Bases of Cultural Positioning in Sociocultural Processes

Central to the understanding of dialogical movements, as indicated above, is the sociocultural processes that underlie them. From a dialogical viewpoint, ethnic identity does not exist in vacuum. This leads to questions on how such process is emplaced and reshaped in a particular context. In a school, for example, one can perceive the mix of people (e.g., teachers, peers and administrators), practices (e.g., instructional activities and extracurricular tasks) and artefacts (e.g., classroom arrangements, curriculum and textbooks). All of these can instigate dialogical movements when one is emplaced and interact with other individuals in a social terrain (Hermans, 2001a). An added element in multiethnic schools is that EM students engage with ethnic others who are of different cultural backgrounds – whether peer or teachers, which supports the notion of cultural contact zone, in which the DST is in “the cultural context in which the self develops and frames itself” (O’Sullivan-Lago & de Abreu, 2009, p. 277). The theoretical underpinning of this, as noted by O’Sullivan-Lago and de Abreu, rests on the Jamesian conception of ‘I’ in the DST.

The strength of Jamesian ‘I’ highlights the (de)stabilisation of identities through complex interactional experiences of individuals, understood via the concepts of continuity and discontinuity. Continuity refers to the psychological act of maintaining continuous sense of self. Discontinuity is the discrete elements that “represent different and perhaps opposed voices in the spatial realm of the self” (Hermans, 2001a, p. 248). Hermans’ emphasis on these concepts is that both continuity and discontinuity go side by side in the DST. Meaning to say,

individuals encounter multiple situations undergirded by a matrix of objects (Batory, 2010) that could strengthen, weaken or contradict our sense of self. In terms of ethnic identity negotiation, delving into elements and meanings that provide continuous and discontinuous experiences of ethnic self would be important, which concerns the role of social space in fostering these experiences.

Understanding the relation of schooling and ethnic identity of students requires perspectives capable of mapping out relations among institution, the people and artefacts in it. These elements could represent meanings that one could draw upon in making sense of oneself. In this sense, school is not seen as mere structural object, but a space where rules are produced and relationships are established that enable rich dynamics of discourse. De Haan (2005, p. 267) described such dynamics more vividly: “Institutional settings do not automatically produce the institutional scripts, positions and norms they are associated with; rather, they need to be authored by participants who ‘instantiate’ these scripts, positions and norms”. This quote draws attention to people responsible for the establishment and enforcement of norms in a school instead of the schooling structure per se. Implied here is that norms and rules entail behavioural effects, which can shape students’ practices and identities through institution members’ enactment of practices, relationship and rules. This form of transmission, in turn, contributes to the dynamics of meaning-making processes in multiethnic schools. Of interest here is when ethnic identity negotiation is placed within such a context. Thus, it is necessary to consider ethnic identity negotiation as a culture-inclusive process.

The culture-inclusivity of DST represents a conceptual advancement in overcoming dualistic understandings of self (Hermans, 2003). The focus is no longer the structural demarcations between the self and other, but their blurring boundaries. The voices of others are not just immediate interlocutions, but thought processes about others subsumed into the self, as Hermans summarised it, “The words of other people, invested with indignation, anger, doubt, anxiety, or pleasure, enter interior dialogues and create an “inner society of voices”” (p. 94). In Joerchel’s (2013) recent review, she typified three types of dialogical movements in cultural positioning to account for the inclusivity of DST:

Joerchel’s (2013) premise here is that dialogical movements take place in social contexts. It means that cultural positions cannot be established without cultural and social references. I-positions, as Joerchel argued further, represent collective voices that mirror societal structures. Tools, such as cultural objects, simultaneously mediate psychological

process individually and social interactions. These implications on cultural positioning foreground the compatibility of DST in schooling context, given De Haan's (2005) emphasis on relational aspects within institutional structures. These relations in institutions are not without force as they exist within power structures that can take over personal voices. This is when macro level discourse inflects micro level interactional processes dialogically (Hermans, 2001a). The force at times can lead individuals to adopt a position, depending on how strong the voices are and the underlying structures that give rise to it.

Dialogical Forces

The drive towards a cultural position is socially motivated. Such a dialogical move in the self is not possible without some sort of "intensification" (Sullivan & McCarthy, 2004, p. 304). Negotiating an identity position means juggling with different voices. These voices, however, may not always carry the same weight. Put differently, some voices are louder, while some are silenced; some are significant, while some are trivial. Functionally, this is when individuals privilege a position over the other(s) or put into a position to do so. This force in the negotiation process closely echoes the concept of penetrative word: "a word capable of actively and confidently interfering in the interior dialogue of the other person, helping that person to find his own voice" (Bakhtin, as cited in Sullivan & McCarthy, 2004, p. 304). Sullivan and McCarthy cited some of Bakhtin's literary analyses to illustrate the function of particular characters, such as those in the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, in evoking significant feelings towards a character (e.g., loving, hating). Such evocation is seen as "embodied in the values and tones of particular people in dialogue with another" (Sullivan & McCarthy, 2004, p. 305). This evocation, hence, materialises as a force that suggests one's positioning and 'becoming' (Sullivan, 2010), or dialogical contact with people or artefacts that can intensify one's dialogical tensions. This is the case when one enters a new landscape, say an institution, that instigates movements of cultural positioning (Hermans, 2001a). These movements bring to a consideration that school consists of not only multiple voices, but also a host of tools (guiding principles) that shape dialogical processes. Importantly, the forces that undergird these dialogical movements represent the power of others in driving one's cultural positioning in an institution.

Coming into terms with De Haan's (2005) description on institution, the voices stem from various institutional members (voices) and norms (tools) that act to constraint and guide social interactions of individuals in the school. Voices may simply come from teachers and/or peers. Meanwhile, these voices could also be mediated by school rules and norms, which can

limit and expand social interactions (e.g., such as the need to respect fellow classmates and teachers cultural background – intolerance towards racial slurs). Therefore, the ethnic references in cultural positioning can be traced by looking at its sociocultural trails in voices and tools that one negotiates and the guiding principles that underwrite those voices and tools. A cultural position is resultant of many competing and even contradictory voices. As shown in the previous section, Khanna's participant claim on his Italian position was not an instant process, in which he negotiated various voices (people in general, his father) and tools (objects that represent Italy). Similarly, this negotiation process can be expected in multiethnic schools when the conceptual emphasis is placed on ethnic identity's dialogicality. In other words, personal and collective voices can reflect embedded power relationships in sociocultural processes through cultural tools. Hence, I argue that the co-constitution of voices and tools take form as ethnic markers and demarcation that provide means for the negotiation of ethnic identity. Taken together, this notion implies an analytical basis for describing dialogical relationship with various institution members of the context in question.

How Does Schooling Discourse Mediate the Negotiation of Ethnic Identity?

The conceptual illustration of DST so far has shown that ethnic identity is dialogised through personal, collective voices and tools mediated via institutional context. This perspective moves towards a view that ethnic identity is co-constituted through individuals' socialisation in sociocultural processes in institutions. It allows researchers to overcome reified notions of cultural positioning, which in turn supports the dynamic and bi-directional nature of ethnic identity negotiation (Joerchel, 2013). What needs to be addressed still is the ground that provides means for dialogical movements in ethnic identity negotiation. This brings into mind Hermans' (2001a) notion of macro frames. How do these frames underwrite the dialogical interactions at personal and social level in a school? To illustrate this sociocultural trail in the DST, I shall turn to a sociocultural framework by Vadeboncoeur, Vellos and Goessling (2011, pp. 230-233). The framework is in step with a conceptual emphasis of this thesis in underscoring the enmeshing between the person and culture in understanding identity negotiation.

The sociocultural framework (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011) outlines interrelated conceptual themes: (i) individual acting with mediational means; (ii) being in social relationships that foreground learner-expert relations and everyday practices; and (iii) social relations under the umbrella of institutional contexts. The conceptual themes offer analytical direction towards the interaction between individuals and others – people, practices and

institution. Such an analysis can be described as the “peeling [of] layers that exist in the social and personal planes” (Phillipson, 2012), paving ways to observe how individuals draw upon different voices and tools instigated by relationships, practices and relations at different contextual levels in school that fortify or disrupt the continuity of ethnic self (i.e., things that make one feels more attached or detached to his or her ethnic background). It also draws attention to how voices and cultural tools are situated within and incited by institutional conditions (i.e., how certain interactions are forged by the values or goals of an institution).

Individual Acting with Cultural Tools

Individual acting with cultural tools looks at how people interact with or react to meanings and discourses they are exposed to. Cultural tools, according to Wertsch (1994), bear “sociocultural patterns and knowledge” (p. 204). They can be as simple as word meanings. Yet, these meanings reflect and inhabit particular ethos and discourse of a cultural setting; they can specific forms of interactions underwritten by school goals and agenda. Learning, in this sense, is not simply about memorising textbook knowledge, but also about the “active use of a meaning system” (p. 204) that contribute to personal development. This conceptual emphasis is useful in describing how individuals make sense of their cultural positioning because it underlines the irreducibility of identity. Particularly, it offers conduit to consider how individual experience is linked to different contextual layers of institutions. Congruent to this view is the multiplicity of self (Aveling & Gillespie, 2008) that regards the multiple influences of environment and the social definition of self (Hermans, 2001b). It, therefore, supports the understanding that identity is partly afforded by schooling environment and discourses.

Being in Social Relationships that Foreground Learner-Expert Relations and Practices

This contextual level enables the mapping of discourse and gestures enacted in classrooms that leads to identity negotiation. Here, attention is drawn towards social relationships with others that constitute potential zones of proximal development (ZPD) (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011, p. 230), or, relationships pertaining to teacher and students / parents and children. In classrooms, teachers instil new knowledge, values and skills to students, leading Vadeboncoeur et al. to argue that teachers have more influence on students’ personal development, or at least have more control over the everyday practices of students. This control stems from power that forges teacher-student relationship. Here, teachers may gauge power at different levels, shaping interactions between teachers and students in specific ways. More concretely, teachers generally decide on everyday practices (e.g.,

activities, norms, discipline and learning pace) in classrooms and determine how they would teach and treat their students that are part and parcel of their relationship in classrooms. All these elements are directly pertinent to the experience of students on a personal level. In other words, everyday practices are the doings of individuals that could instigate identity formation through dialogical activities as they engage in those activities and interactions.

Social Relations under Institutional Contexts

Social relations are primarily concerned with the makeup of population in an institution and its relations with individual experience. It focuses on the groups of individuals that constitute the membership of a setting, which may be populated by students of a particular mix of ethnicity, gender, class or ability groups. Vadeboncoeur and colleagues (2011) held that particular grouping may “reflect implicit patterned practices that are not necessarily visible” (p. 232), which could be scrutinised via ‘ideological discourses’ (p. 233) and the way these discourses impact upon classroom practices and individual experience. As implicit as these discourses are, they can be understood by examining the purpose and values of the institution in a society, such as its relations with wider societal conditions (e.g., political, educational and funding policies) and the way these artefacts influence school provisions.

These institutional conditions mediate cultural tools, e.g., textbooks, student work, activities, etc., which may underwrite the interactions and practices in question in these relationships. The power within these relationships is not to be ignored, especially within the institutional hierarchy. Although Vadeboncoeur and colleagues (2011) pointed to the power relations between learner-expert relationship (i.e., teachers and students), the influence on cultural positioning is by no means exclusive to others who possess power. As an explanation, ethnic identity can be influenced by peers and other personnel, especially if the experiences with the cultural others stand to be a strong collective voice that cut through individuals’ personal positioning. This was the case of Khanna’s (2011) participant when the generalised other people did not see him as Italian, a tension not necessarily stemming from learner-expert relationships.

In discerning the interrelationships of these voices and tools in an institution, it is possible to ask how they emerge as dialogical activities. Vadeboncoeur and colleagues’ (2011) point on implicit patterned practices among social groups is enlightening. These practices could be the collective voices that represent the commonalities of a particular social group. The commonalities could be the language that a social group uses or activities they

participate in together that form their everyday experiences. Embedded in these interactions could be ethnic boundaries that individuals construct. Implicitly, these interactions could be, in part, mirroring some school institutional values. At least in theory, if a school cultivates culturally respectful behaviours among students, teachers are to enforce such a rule and that students may exhibit behaviours that respect peers' cultural background or practices that particular ethnic groups do together (e.g., speaking in their home language), which might contribute to dialogical movements in cultural positions. In sum, I argue that ethnic identity negotiated is foregrounded by interactions and practices that constitute personal and collective voices, moving simultaneously across contextual layers of institutions that prompt dialogical movements in cultural positioning. These cultural positions reflect an institution's value and ethos through patterned interaction and practices.

Reconstructing Ethnic Identity in Dialogical and Sociocultural Terms

I started this chapter by highlighting the need to make explicit the pedagogical context of EM students in a Bernsteinian lens: classification and framing. I then highlighted the dialogical processes of ethnic identity — negotiating the ethnic self and other through DST. Using these notions as a backdrop, I discussed the interface of ethnic identity negotiation and the sociocultural hierarchy of learning contexts. There have been pleas surrounding the lack of unity between structural and sociocultural accounts in explaining psychological processes at individual level (Daniels, 2001; Sawyer, 2002). This paradigmatic disagreement reflects two seemingly opposing analytical directions: either researchers focus excessively on structural factors of schooling or overstate individual processes in relation to social practices. I argue, however, that this extreme distinction is unnecessary in this study. Rather, I maintain that a united account of top down and bottom up approaches offers a vantage point to elucidate not only the choosing of ethnic identity, but also how students are emplaced in a learning environment to make such a choice. To move forward, how should one unite the conceptual threads presented in this chapter to account for the ethnic identity negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong?

From a bottom up perspective, DST can account for ethnic identity's simultaneous engagement with collective voices and tools. This interpretation is supported by Khanna's (2011) work through individuals' evocation of artefacts and interactional accounts with cultural others. The voices and tools that individuals engage with are power-laden. The weight they carry varies, which can shape cultural positioning towards particular directions according to cultural others' penetrative words. As argued earlier in this chapter, the power

structure within voices and tools opens up analytical attention within institutions. Such a structure, as De Haan (2005) described, is maintained by the relational nexus forged by institutional members. Combining the perspectives of Joerchel (2013) and Vadeboncoeur et al. (2011) can offer insights into the analysis of ethnic identity in multiethnic schooling context. It paves for one to consider the interface between cultural positioning and a matrix of sociocultural processes in schools.

This concern of De Haan (2005) on institutional structure brings us back to Bernstein (1996) to observe the phenomena from top down view. His concepts of classification and framing, in particular, can help throw light on what meso and macro elements are drawn upon in classroom and institutional settings. These concepts bring to the fore the analytical attention towards the pedagogical and schooling contexts of EM students from a structural standpoint. This way, social practices in schools are not merely a gamut of collective activities or interactions. They are also linked to particular forms of institutional arrangements. In effect, the discourses in schools that students interact with are not necessarily reified; they are also negotiated based on the available support system at school and policy levels. Put differently, Bernstein's concepts offer a way to look into the institutional underpinnings of pedagogical and cultural tensions that the literature in Chapter 2 spoke of.

In adopting these combined lenses, the analysis should not be limited to the ethnic labels that EM students claim. The voice and tools that they evoke in their school life experiences should also be emphasised through the way they construct their cultural positioning. In addition, these life encounters are mediated by the relationships, practices, power and relations in an institution. If the interface of Hong Kong's multiethnic schooling practices and EM students' ethnic identity is to be understood, it is important not to restrict analytical efforts within contextual domains, such as the implementation of curriculum and classroom arrangements. It would be fruitful to look at the pliability of the relations within such a culturally diverse institutional context. These changing relations may in turn become tools and voices that EM individuals draw upon when constructing their ethnicities.

Chapter Summary

An emphasis of this chapter is that ethnic identity cannot be solely understood in macro or micro terms individually, but a combination of both. I began by accounting for pedagogic practices that can elevate the narratives in schooling discourse and went on to conceptualise ethnic identity drawing on dialogical and sociocultural concepts to highlight

the dynamic shifts in cultural positions as a result of heterogeneous voices in a schooling discourse. By linking ethnic identity negotiation with pedagogical and institutional processes, it becomes possible to overcome notions that tend to reduce ethnic identity purely in structural terms or individual actions (Sawyer, 2002). Schooling discourse in multiethnic learning environments is not dismembered from broader educational initiatives. Rather, the initiatives open up spaces for schools to divergently respond to their multiethnic student body through different institutional and pedagogic arrangements, which simultaneously become the very discourse wherein EM students negotiate their ethnic identity. What can be seen here is then a reciprocal interaction between individuals and their sociocultural context of schooling. Hence, the analysis can help examine EM students' values and attitudes toward their ethnic identity in light of the changing provisions of Hong Kong's schooling provisions, where multicultural practices are not fully adopted and endorsed in the wider community. Therefore, engaging with the identity phenomenon "Can I still be myself around them here?" in multiethnic schools requires attention to not just "myself", not just "them", but also "here" – a space complicit in the multiple worlds of EM individuals as result of crisscrossing of different ethnicities and changing support structure of education system. With these theoretical notions in mind, in Chapter 4, I outline an ethnographic approach that provides empirical focus for this study.

CHAPTER 4: SEEING THE OUTSIDE FROM WITHIN

ENCOUNTERING OTHER DIALOGUES: A METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study focuses on how Filipino students negotiate ethnic identity in a multiethnic secondary school in Hong Kong. Chapter 3 provided a theoretical consideration on how ethnic identity is seen as a dialogue with the social environment that prompts shifts in cultural positioning. This chapter begins by building on the analytical demands of the theoretical framework described in Chapter 3 to argue for the suitability of an ethnographic approach in this study. Second, in situating myself as a researcher in this study, I describe the fieldwork context, process and the data sources this study draws upon for analysis. Third, I detail the analytical principles and processes of the data analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion on methodological and ethical considerations in the research process.

Being a Part of Them and Being Apart from Them: An Ethnographic Reading

How can ethnic identity be made visible through ethnography? As discussed in Chapter 3, ethnic identity negotiation is informed by the conceptual stance that individual functioning is nested within larger social and cultural processes, mediated by cultural tools embedded in social relationship, practices and relations under institutional context. In particular, the co-constitution of voices and cultural tools that takes form as ethnic markers and demarcation provide means for shifts in cultural positioning. This conceptual stance avoids reductionist views that tend to dismiss the influences of broader environment and culture (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011). Simply put, ethnic identity is not self-contained, but shaped by multiple social influences. Crucially, what this conceptual stance offers is an empirical focus on the salient cultural processes and artefacts in the multiethnic school that may contribute to the students' ethnic identity negotiation and the ways in which students interact with these processes and artefacts to negotiate their ethnic identity. These processes are reciprocal, which foreground the inseparability of person-culture represented by I-positions. I-position represents "who" in relation to "who", "what" (practices or artefacts), "when" and "where", thereby providing analytical basis for not only the "who" – individual, but also the "who" and "what" that constitute the cultural processes in an institution – "where". These notions suggest that the empirical materials must capture information pertaining to the school, practices and accounts of individuals.

The ethnographic approach is employed to analyse interconnections between human relationships and social phenomena, which may explain why such an approach has gained popularity in modern day educational research (Brewer, 2010; Putney & Frank, 2008). In seeing ethnic identity as part of cultural processes, researchers can be equipped by ethnographic techniques to observe day to day practices, personal accounts and artefacts that can shed light on how interactions and practices in a particular culture unfold in a natural setting. This is highly relevant within the purview that individuals are “participants in ongoing practices of a community” (Renshaw, 1998, p. 88) as they acquire knowledge through classroom and schooling practices.

Before ethnographic research became an established methodology, Christian missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries had a practice of chronicling their visits in foreign cultures (Kahn, 2011). The written accounts of the missionaries were vivid descriptions of “structures, membership, hierarchies, value systems, rituals, customs” (p. 186) of a particular culture with the purpose of convincing readers to visit those places. In sociocultural terms, culture is a base for social interactions that enable higher psychological functions (Ratner, 1996). Since ethnography emphasises holism (Erickson, 1984; Thornton, 1988 ; Wolcott, 1999) and situated-ness (Blommaert & Jie, 2010), it is possible to overcome reductionist views that tend to simplify ethnic identity as a unitary construct resistant to external influences. Accordingly, researchers are not restricted to investigating the nature of ethnic identity per se. Attention is also drawn towards the nuances of context in the inquiry process that provides clues on what shapes such an ethnic identity. This ethnographic process, in other words, is “a call for tracing interrelated elements and fitting parts together” (Wolcott, 1999, p. 79). To place this notion in the context of this study, the interrelated elements can be taken to mean the cultural processes at the different levels of a learning environment. These interrelated processes in multiethnic schools partly constitute the shifts in students’ ethnic identity. Ethnographic techniques, therefore, allows for data gathering at different contextual layers of multiethnic schools to explore ethnic identity shifts.

Empirical materials in ethnography are diverse, providing researchers with multiple angles to capture how ethnic identity negotiation may be at play in a particular setting. It is noteworthy that researchers adopting constructivist notions commonly employ ethnographic methods to examine identity processes (e.g., Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998; Skinner, Valsiner & Holland, 2001; Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011; van Meijl, 2008). Specifically, ethnographers pay attention to participants’ use of language and actions in a local setting,

while attending to influences of broader structures in shaping their interactions. As such, the research space, the researched and the researcher are inseparable in the realm of ethnography.

A critical part of collecting ethnographic data is interacting with participants at a more personal level. Such an interaction is far more than extracting information from participants. The perspectives of researcher and researched become interlaced in the research process (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). This reciprocity of perspectives, however, is not about allowing the personal worldviews of researchers to interfere with the research process. Rather, it is about recognising how the research process is, in part, patterned against or implicitly embedded within the worldviews of researchers. These worldviews, as the research progresses, intersect with those of the participants, wherein researchers engage in a host of interpretive activities that “employ an active, sophisticated subjectivity to objectively comprehend subjective experience” (Ratner, 2002, para. 9). This epistemological stance is significant as it paves the way for the very aim of this thesis to understand Filipino students’ ethnic identity negotiation through their personal experiences in a multiethnic learning environment.

Put differently, the conceptualisation of research rests upon the implicit assumptions and beliefs of researchers, which has to do with what they think is “going on with the phenomena” (Maxwell, cited in Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xxiv). In this sense, ethnographers examine and re-examine their own perspectives as they make sense of their participants’ worldviews and culture. The meaning-making processes emerging from the situated interactions between researchers and participants (Blommaert & Jie, 2010) provide empirical support for the analysis that adopts dialogical and sociocultural lenses outlined in the previous chapter. Hence, dismissing the personal worldviews of researchers in the analytical process is misleading, if not specious. Instead, it is more fruitful to critically examine how such interlacing of worldviews between researchers and participants brings a research study to life that throws light on a social phenomenon in question. Like many qualitative researchers, ethnographers address issues of subjectivity by explicitly articulating and critically reflecting on their own perspectives within the research rather than sidestepping them. I do so in the following section to consider the implications of my biography in the research process.

Autobiographical Note: My Inner Dialogues

The impetus of this research is both personal and pragmatic. The questions I address in this research emerged from a personal search for my own identity as a Filipino person in

Hong Kong. It is thus not impossible for me to think of the educational experiences of my younger peers who might be experiencing shifts in ethnic identity. As well, the way this study is approached calls into mind Berry's (2011, p. 173) insight: "Ethnography chooses ethnographers in that its nature is significantly intelligible to us. Various practices and experiences at the heart of the research approach resonate in powerful ways with our experience". Meanwhile, this research is pragmatic. While the emphases on Chinese language proficiency and integration have driven the government's educational initiatives for EM students, the underdeveloped discourse on Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation in such an educational climate deserves research attention. This study, therefore, can be situated within Hong Kong's socio-political arena, which has potential implications on the multicultural practices in Hong Kong schools as a result of the broadened understanding of a particular EM community and their cultural practices in their learning environment.

These personal and pragmatic concerns, in hindsight, transpired as my entry portal to this study. My impetus, as qualitative methodologists would concur (Heglund, 2005), is composed of preconceived ideas and beliefs about the research being conducted, and therefore must be reflected upon to enhance data confidence (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). In this regard, one must be clear that ethnographic research is not meant to be understood under positivistic notions associated with natural science (Kahn, 2011) as the research process "is not divorced from the researcher's location and interpretation" (Mitra, 2010, p. 15). A starting point is thus to situate myself in the research process by interrogating the views I bring into the study (Berry, 2011; Gregory & Ruby, 2011) using the axes of insider and outsider to describe the personal underpinnings of this research. These status markers are used to denote whether a researcher belongs to the particular group of people being studied. Insider-researchers belong to the group of their participants. Outsider-researchers are generally alien to or do not share the same characteristics of those they are researching (Breen, 2007). My particular combination of ethnicity and schooling experience had shaped how I developed my inquiry and how I gained research access to the study school.

As an Insider

I am an insider by ethnicity. Born to Filipino parents in Hong Kong, I am the only member in my family so far who has received education in mainstream Chinese schools and higher education in Hong Kong. I grew up in a multilingual environment, where I spoke Filipino and some English at home, Cantonese and some Mandarin at school and various social settings. As a young child, I regarded this multilingual environment to be 'normal' and

it had been part of my daily interactions with my family, friends and public. I was raised knowing myself as a Filipino – my parents never called me names that denoted being Filipino and Hong Kong Chinese (e.g., Hong Kong Filipino, Filipino Chinese, etc.). Questions regarding my ethnic identity arose as I grew up in social circles where I occasionally experienced being other-ed. For instance, my brothers who grew up in the Philippines would say that I am very Chinese despite my ability to communicate with them in Filipino language.

On the one hand, because of my ethnic background as a Filipino, some Chinese friends of mine would not fully see me as a Chinese, though I could converse with them in Cantonese fluently and share many of their interests. I surmised that this phenomenon had to do with my looks and that I never purposely concealed my Filipino background when I introduced myself to people. Although I would not evaluate these experiences negatively, it was difficult for me to fully occupy a position either way as Filipino or Hong Kong Chinese. Even if I choose to act more like a Chinese on purpose, my behaviour and demeanour may suggest otherwise, especially if one pays careful attention to such subtleties. The conundrum as a Filipino and Hong Kong person has then become the fertile ground for this research, which formed an overarching assumption – Filipino students in Hong Kong struggle with their identity, at least at some point in their life in Hong Kong.

As an Outsider

I am an outsider by schooling experience. I was educated in local Chinese schools in Hong Kong, where my peers were mostly ethnic Chinese. Cantonese was the medium of instruction in those schools. My student participants were in a multiethnic school. English was the lingua franca among students and teachers except in Chinese lessons. In this situation, I grew up with little language barrier that helped me fit in into the mainstream society as opposed to my student participants who mostly did not speak fluent Cantonese. Thus, I do not fully share the sentiments they have expressed in the school in relation to language and cultural barriers in Hong Kong. On the other hand, I entered the study school as a naïve person who knew little about my participants' life and practices in multiethnic schools. Equally, my researcher role as a research visitor in the school reinforced my task to research the experiences of my participants in the school, which clearly marked me as a distinct outsider who was not a member of the school and a person who did not experience the same school life. As much as I could be up close with my participants, there remained some distance between them and me.

Occupying a Liminal Position

The insider-outsider notions are helpful tools for reflexivity yet not without caveats. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) cautioned researchers against the sole reliance on insider and outsider dichotomy. They instead encouraged researchers to consider a combined state: an in-between position. They described this state as a “preservation of the complexity of similarity and differences” (p. 60), which by nature constitutes a dialectical relationship between researchers and participants. In this case, the sameness (Filipinos) I share with my participants and the differences (schooling experience) I do not share with them. Dwyer and Buckle went argued that researchers are not bound to assume insider and outsider roles completely. These roles are simultaneous, tensioned and ambivalent positions that researchers constantly negotiate in the field.

Whether negotiating those positions is comfortable on the researcher’s part, it is an inevitable and necessary process in establishing rigorous and trustworthy ethnographic accounts, and Harrington (2002, p. 50) aptly captured such juxtaposition: “Making ethnography credible depends on walking a fine line between participation and observation: being immersed enough to know what you’re talking about while being separate enough to offer a critical analysis”. If insider and outsider positions are not mutually exclusive, then from a practical standpoint, it is a question of when and to what extent to be an insider and outsider. My identity as a researcher is bound by time and space, which shifts according to specific situations, from the very first school I approached for research access to my departure from the field.

Negotiating Research Access: Encountering Other Dialogues

With the ethical clearance from the University of Tasmania, I collected data for this research starting mid-2013. Gaining access to a field is a highly delicate process in ethnographic research. The literature does not fall short of accounts regarding the extended time and patience needed on negotiating research access (Bengry-Howell & Griffin, 2012; Reeves, 2010; Roesch-Marsh, Gadda & Smith, 2011). These accounts are not irrelevant from an analytical standpoint as the nature and extent of fieldwork are often at stake; the types and volume of data collected in the field depend heavily on the permission and cooperation of gatekeepers (e.g., principals, decision makers, senior officials, etc.). Unsupportive gatekeepers can, therefore, compromise the outcomes of a study. Researchers falling into this situation are left with no choice but to reframe their study aims (Roesch-Marsh et al., 2011) or seek alternative avenues for their fieldwork. This study does not escape these concerns as I

was acutely aware of the paucity of suitable schools for the research and the likelihood of being rejected by gatekeepers because of the intrusive research process.

I targeted multiethnic schools with a sound number of Filipino students based on a list of designated schools provided on the EDB website and word-of-mouth of family friends. I started out by alerting principals of the target schools of my research intentions via informal emails and cold calls when I was in Australia. However, these approaches were unfruitful as unsolicited emails were not promptly responded to by schools in Hong Kong, if not ignored. Even though I managed to follow up on a few of those emails by phone, the absence of my physical presence in Hong Kong would not immediately translate into a further negotiation.

I returned to Hong Kong and continued sending out research invitations to schools. After successive attempts, a school supervisor of a multiethnic school responded to my invitation with interest. As promising as it sounded, the supervisor preferred that the negotiation process go through the principal whom he thought was in a better position to decide the school's participation in the research. So the supervisor instead referred my invitation letter to the principal whom I met later. Despite making my research purpose clear to the principal, he expressed some concerns regarding the intrusiveness of my research (too many teachers involved). I offered to make adjustments in my approach, which he later considered. I asked for some basic demographic details of Filipino students in the school and I was asked to wait for a formal response. Despite my deferential follow up calls to the principal a few weeks after, the negotiation still did not lead to a formal approval.

While waiting for the above principal's formal response to my research invitation, I engaged Danica (this name and the following, including the school, are all pseudonyms), a friend from church who was a sixth form female Filipino student in another Hong Kong multiethnic secondary school, in a conversation about my study. Danica's initial involvement in the research eventuated in my acquaintance with one of her teachers, Mr Wong. After contacting him, I visited Danica's school to meet him, Mr Fung (the principal) and Mr Cruz (Filipino teacher who taught English). Mr Fung, Mr Wong and Mr Cruz were very receptive to my research and offered to assist me in my fieldwork. Here, my insider status as a Filipino who was educated in Hong Kong seemed to be at play in facilitating my research access, which came to fore in one of my e-mail exchanges with Mr Wong:

We are pleased to know that you have received education in Hong Kong and learned Chinese language so well. I think you are the right person to study how Filipino

students develop their identity in class especially after Hong Kong's handover to China in 1997. I believe your study will be of great help to the Hong Kong policy makers in future.

Without much setback, the meeting led to Mr Fung's formal approval of the fieldwork. I was later invited to make informal visits at the school (hereafter called Melange). The only limitation imposed on me was that I could only interview Mr Wong and Mr Cruz and only observe the classes they taught. I had to work with what was available for me out of ethical considerations.

Unlike teacher-researchers, I came to the field as a research visitor without any commitment to serve or teach at the school. After gaining permission from the principal, I conducted the fieldwork in almost a linear, macro (institutional environment) to micro (individuals) fashion. The fieldwork was designed to first understand the institutional environment of the school, then the classroom and finally the views of the Filipino students on their ethnic identity and school life. Conducting the fieldwork in such an order acquainted me to the school environment and the students. In the ethnographic tradition, researchers are not seen as objective observant. The ethnographer is one of the participants, which was marked by my presence in the lessons of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz. To establish rapport with my participants, there was no way I could pose myself impersonally to the students and treat them as mere research objects. So when opportunity arose, I took time to talk to the students as they approached me with curiosity about my presence at Melange. Meanwhile, I remained mindful of my research goals that reminded me of my analytical tasks; I could not be entirely immersed in the lives of my participants as a result. As Fetterman (2010, p. 1) put it, the job of ethnographers is to bring "credible, rigorous, and authentic story" to life about the individuals they work with, which carries the task of being both a "storyteller and scientist" (p. 2).

In moving towards the empirical focus of this study, Table 4.1 shows the corresponding research questions to the data sources. The fieldwork yielded 7 different datasets consisting of school documents, observational field notes and interviews with the principal, teachers and students over the course of one school semester (September – December). The nature of these datasets is also described below.

Table 4.1

Summary of Data Sources

Research Questions	Data Sources
How do Filipino students negotiate their ethnic identity in a designated secondary school in Hong Kong?	<p>What cultural tools are embedded in a Hong Kong multicultural school that promote shifts in ethnic identity?</p> <p>What cultural tools are represented in the Chinese and English classes of a multiethnic secondary school that promote shifts in students' ethnic identity?</p> <p>What cultural tools do Filipino students interact with that suggest continuity and discontinuity in ethnic identity?</p>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Institutional documents 2. Photographs 3. Interview with the principal and the assistant principal (who was also a Chinese language teacher) 4. Classroom observations 5. Interviews with a Chinese language teacher and an English language teacher 6. Curriculum materials 7. Interviews with 17 Filipino students

Data Sources

1. **Institutional documents.** Institutional documents are compilations of school documents regarding organisational structures and demographic information about students. These documents provided an understanding of the school's administration system, and included admission requirements, reports on funding and so on.
2. **Photographs.** I occasionally took photographs at various spaces of the school, which were used to record spatial arrangements of classrooms, posters in school interior, student work. These photos are not shown in the following chapters to protect the anonymity of Melange, but informed the data analysis.
3. **Interviews with the principal and the assistant principal.** The interview with Mr Fung was 25 minutes in length and the other one with Mr Wong lasted about 87 minutes. Both interviews were conducted in Cantonese in a semi-structured fashion, focusing on the school's background, history and implementation of its key educational initiatives (see Appendix 4.1 for interview topic guide). The interviews were also transcribed in written Cantonese to preserve the original meaning of the participants. For language consistency sake, the quotes presented in the chapters to follow are in English in my own translation.

4. **Interview with teachers.** I interviewed Mr Wong and Mr Cruz individually, who taught Chinese language and English language subjects respectively. Mr Wong, the assistant principal, was interviewed for the second time as a Chinese language teacher. Each interview lasted about 50 minutes. The interviews involved questions related to their teaching strategies and perceptions of EM students (See Appendix 4.2 for interview topic guide).
5. **Classroom observations.** I observed the classes of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz two to three times a week for 9 weeks and 11 weeks respectively. I watched Mr Wong's fifth form Advanced Chinese as a Second Language class, which I call Class A; I observed Mr Cruz's second form (Class B) and sixth form English classes (Class C). A detailed schedule of my class visits are shown in Chapter 6 where I present the observational data. I chose classes with double lesson periods (35 minutes per period), which allowed me to capture richer detail of the teacher-student interactions. At first, I generally paid attention to how the teachers organised and ran their classroom activities. I also took note of some notable reactions and behaviours of the student participants. The activities of other students were only described in general terms to be in step with lesson context and dialogue order. Particularly, I handwrote notes to describe the class activity sequences and interactions between the teachers and students. The observational notes were written in English, except some key phrases in the Chinese lessons that were written in traditional Chinese. The handwritten notes were subsequently transcribed and typewritten in narrative form, which allowed me to review and work out the activity sequence more coherently. These classroom observations yielded thirty-nine field notes with about 1200 words each.
6. **Curriculum materials.** Curriculum materials included sample pages of Melange's school-based Chinese textbooks that were publicly availability on the school website. In some of my class observations, Mr Wong and Mr Cruz voluntarily provided me student worksheets and quizzes, which provided contextual background to the observations.

7. **Interviews with Filipino students.** I interviewed 17 students during the fieldwork – see Table 4.2 for the interviewee profile. The interview began with *Self-Pictroduction* – a collage-making activity I developed based on the work of Awan (2008). The participants were asked to introduce themselves by selecting a variety of cultural icons that represented Hong Kong (Chan, 2013; Chan, 2010), the Philippines (Costello, 2009; National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2013) and a variety of emoticons. The participants were provided blank sheets for drawing and writing if they felt the icons were unrepresentative of their identity. I then began the interview by asking them to explain and describe their choice of picture representations (see Appendix 4.3 for interview topic guide). The interviews lasted between 25 to 80 minutes, conducted mostly in English, and Filipino in a few occasions. The interviews conducted in Filipino were transcribed into Filipino. The quotes presented in the following chapters are in English in my own translation.

Table 4.2

Profile of Student Participants

Pseudonym	Sex	Form (Year)	Place of Birth	Remarks
Martin	M	2 (7)	Philippines	Father: Scottish-American Mother: Filipino
Pedro	M	2 (7)	Philippines	
Arnel	M	2 (7)	Philippines	
Jacinta	F	2 (7)	Philippines	Father: Indian Mother: Filipino
Sarah	F	4 (10)	Hong Kong	
Isabel	F	5 (11)	Hong Kong	Father: Chinese Mother: Filipino
Helena	F	5 (11)	Hong Kong	
Vicky	F	5 (11)	Hong Kong	
Kevin	M	5 (11)	Hong Kong	
Gabrielle	F	5 (11)	Hong Kong	
Trisha	F	6 (12)	Hong Kong	
Elise	F	6 (12)	Hong Kong	
Anthony	M	6 (12)	Hong Kong	
Louisa	F	6 (12)	Hong Kong	
Carl	M	6 (12)	Hong Kong	
Nick	M	6 (12)	Philippines	
Rodrigo	M	6 (12)	Hong Kong	

Data Analysis

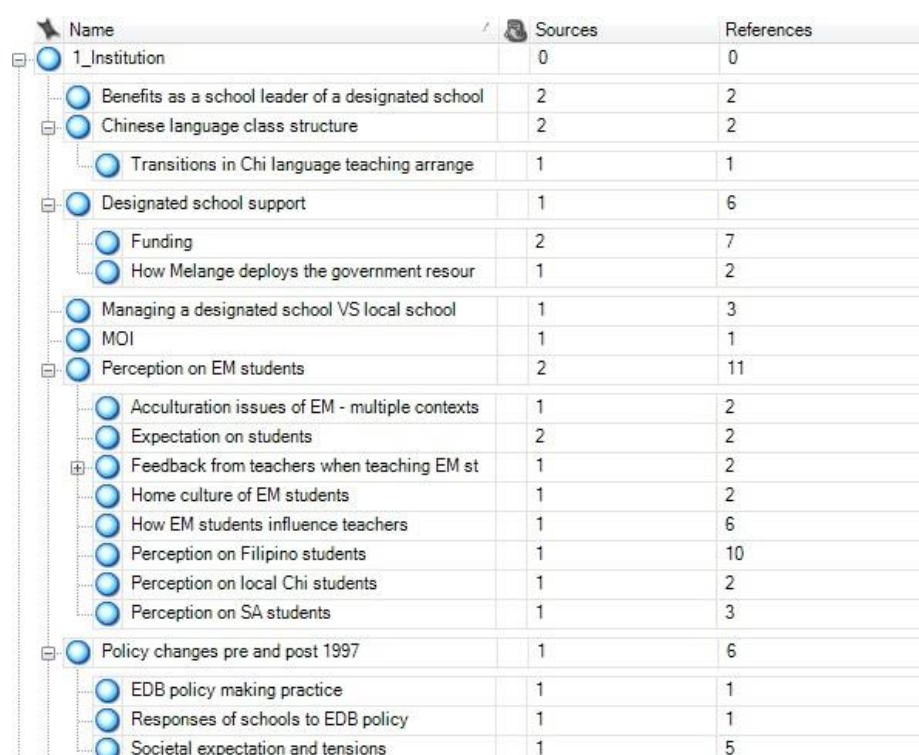
Following the three questions stated above, the first level analysis sought to understand the institutional context of Melange. The second level of analysis focused on the three classes of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz, which aimed at understanding their pedagogical climate. The last level of analysis centred on the Filipino students to understand the shifts in their cultural positioning. All data were centrally processed using NVivo 9 software (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2010). I elaborate on the analytical processes on each level below. The analysis utilises the top down and bottom up approaches in highlighting the cultural processes in the school and the ways in which students interact with these cultural processes negotiate a cultural positioning.

Institutional Context

After the data transcription and import into NVivo, I began with a process of indexing, which involved identifying elements and constituents in the data to discern what units might be involved (Brewer, 2010). In addressing the first sub research question (What cultural tools are embedded in a Hong Kong multicultural school that promote shifts in students' ethnic identity?), Bernstein's (1996) notion of rules of social order (regulative discourse), which

gives rise to the underpinning discourse of an institution as discussed in Chapter 3, provided analytical specificity through the following questions: What is the ethos of the school? What is its school motto? What are its expectations on the teachers? What kind of teacher is being modelled in the school? What are its expectations on the students? What kind of student is being modelled in the school? How are the classes organised? In other words, how are students grouped?

As such, a first scan on the interview transcripts generated broad categories such as “Designated school support”, “Perception on EM students and policy changes”, Pre and post 1997” as shown in Figure 4.1. Generally, these broad categories provided clues on how Melange interacted with the broader level policies to enact them at school level. Then, a second round of analysis was conducted to discriminate further the forms of support and the views of the interviewees to understand how they implemented the initiatives of Melange. This process was to explore the views on the implementation processes of school-level initiatives, leading to the further break down of the broad categories, as indicated in the second layer of nodes in Figure 4.1 beneath the broad categories (e.g., Funding). The findings in this layer are presented in Chapter 5.



Name	Sources	References
1_Institution	0	0
Benefits as a school leader of a designated school	2	2
Chinese language class structure	2	2
Transitions in Chi language teaching arrange	1	1
Designated school support	1	6
Funding	2	7
How Melange deploys the government resour	1	2
Managing a designated school VS local school	1	3
MOI	1	1
Perception on EM students	2	11
Acculturation issues of EM - multiple contexts	1	2
Expectation on students	2	2
Feedback from teachers when teaching EM st	1	2
Home culture of EM students	1	2
How EM students influence teachers	1	6
Perception on Filipino students	1	10
Perception on local Chi students	1	2
Perception on SA students	1	3
Policy changes pre and post 1997	1	6
EDB policy making practice	1	1
Responses of schools to EDB policy	1	1
Societal expectation and tensions	1	5

Figure 4.1. A thematic analysis example at institutional level.

Classroom Climate

This analytical layer attends to the question: What cultural tools are represented in the Chinese and English classes of a multiethnic secondary school that promote shifts in students' ethnic identity? The focus here, in particular, was the teaching events, namely the pedagogical arrangements in the classes of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz. The field notes, which formed the observational data, were analysed in several stages. Each field note was accompanied by a short reflection of my overall impression of the lesson. As “journalistic” as the reflective writing process might sound (Brewer, 2010), it was a critical step for me to develop a deeper understanding of the observed phenomena, an interwoven sense-making process wherein data and interpretation in ethnographic inquiry evolve together (Wolcott, 1987). It effectively echoes Ratner's (2002, para. 9) point on using “sophisticated subjectivity to objectively comprehend subjective experience”. On a practical note, this process is important as ethnographic data are generally unstructured (Brewer, 2010), which require further sorting.

- What is happening here?
- What is being accomplished, by and with whom, how, in what ways, when and where, under what conditions, for what purposes, drawing on what historical or current knowledge and resources (e.g., artefacts, meanings, tools), with what outcomes or consequences for individuals and the group?
- To what do individual members of sustaining groups have access, orient and hold each other accountable?
- What makes someone an insider or outsider of particular groups (e.g., class, group within a class, peer group or social network)?
- What counts as disciplinary knowledge (i.e. mathematics, science, social science or art) in this particular group or classroom?
- What roles and relationships, norms and expectations, and rights and obligations are constructed by and afforded members?
- How does previously constructed cultural knowledge support or constrain participation in, or create frame clashes with, local knowledge being constructed in a particular event (or social group)?
- How do decisions beyond the group support and/ or constrain ways of knowing, being and doing afforded members?

Figure 4.2. Questions for classroom ethnography

Subsequently, I employed the following guiding questions of Green, Sukukauskaitė and Baker (2011, p. 310) to explicate the basic constituents of the observational data (see Figure 4.2). In practice, sorting the data based on these guiding questions identified the nature

of class activities (After the quiz, Mr Wong played a video clip about 19th century revolution), their purpose (Mr Wong stopped the clip at 10:49 and explained the setting of the theatre), interactional turns between teachers and students (During the quiz, Mr Wong explained some terms to a Filipina student (Helena)) and so forth.

With these subcategories sorted, Bernstein's (1996) notion of framing within the instructional discourse was applied: (1) the selection of the content, (2) sequencing, (3) pacing, (4) criteria, and (5) control over social base. These notions then translated to the following analytic questions for closer analysis of the pedagogical context of the two teachers' lessons:

1. What teaching materials do teachers use? How do they use those materials? What kinds of questions do teachers ask?
2. What types of class activities are present? How are they ordered by the teacher?
3. How quickly should the students achieve the learning tasks and outcomes? Do the lessons progress with few interruptions?
4. How do the teachers work out the learning outcome of the students? What forms of assessments are in place?
5. Do teachers give students opportunity for discussion and to interact with peers? Do any of these interactions reflect the school ethos? If yes, in what ways? How would they describe their pedagogical relationship with the students

Codes that correspond to these analytic questions were read more closely to build a detailed and coherent description of the pedagogical events. For example, the question "What teaching materials do teachers use?" is addressed by the codes "Other class artefacts" and "Pedagogical artefacts" as shown in Figure 4.3. The interview data gathered from Mr Wong and Mr Cruz were coded within the categories shown in Figure 4.3 (e.g., "Supporting students' understanding) to supplement the observational data. For example, these interview accounts explained the teachers' pedagogical underpinnings, such as the view of Mr Wong on his students' language barrier — "So I would think this way, it's not necessarily their attitude problem; the [grade discrepancy] doesn't make sense, maybe it's because of language barrier". This statement of Mr Wong, thus, offered a basis to interpret why he frequently code-switched in the Chinese lessons.

An ethnographic account of the class observations is presented in Chapter 5. The analytic levels so far are aimed at uncovering clues on how the schooling discourse speaks to the Filipino students, addressing how cultural tools, namely institutional and instructional

messages, are transmitted to the students. Such an elaborated account of the institutional context makes visible the processes that constitute the cultural tools that students were exposed to. This approach implies that the experiences and interactions in the school were not necessarily linear, but also negotiated by its members. The cultural tools that students interacted with were not made malleable only because of the tensions arose from the identity choices the made, but also the because of the ways in which the school authorities negotiated in institutional environment.

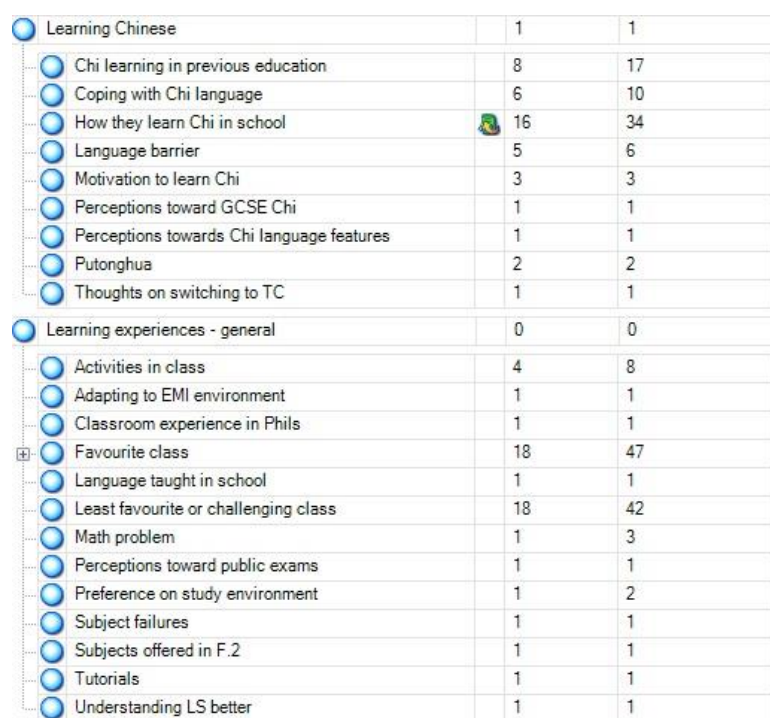
Name	Sources	References
1 What is happening here	0	0
Assignments	4	4
Class activities	0	0
Film showing	3	4
Lecturing	3	6
Other	5	9
Passage reading	4	4
Quiz	4	6
Written exercises	1	1
Class admin	2	4
Classroom description	1	2
Entering the setting	1	3
Greeting	1	1
Lesson topic	3	3
2 What is being accomplished...	0	0
Confirming students' understanding of cont	6	14
Other class artefacts	3	6
Pedagogical artefacts	10	36
Supporting students' understanding (pedag	12	57
Explaining cultural contrasts and issues	7	9
Providing contextual background of con	2	3
Using English to explain key concepts	3	3
3 To what do individual members of sustaining	0	0
Students' response to teacher	0	0
Teacher's interaction with students	1	1
4 What makes someone an insider or outsider	1	3
5 What counts as disciplinary knowledge	0	0
6 What roles and relationships, norms and expe	0	0

Figure 4.3. Observational data constituents in Class A.

Cultural Positioning of Filipino Students

This level of analysis addresses the third sub research question “What cultural tools do Filipino students interact with that suggest continuity and discontinuity in ethnic identity?” First, I read through the printed interview transcripts to create initial codes for further analysis. Not only did this process allow for a preliminary understanding of the dataset, it also provided me a greater sense of control on the data (Saldaña, 2009). It facilitated the planning of the subsequent coding exercise, which provided great flexibility in sensitising the

data by freely writing notes and highlighting key phrases. The interview transcripts were then imported to NVivo and were sorted into two broad categories: participant profile and interview account. The participants' personal attributes of were all sorted into participant profile. The profile provided information on each participant's age, heritage, kindergarten, language use, occupation of parents, place of birth, primary school, frequency of visits to the Philippines and year of arrival in Hong Kong. The interview accounts that addressed the research question were thematically sorted based on the initial themes generated from the preliminary analysis. In keeping step with the sub research question, the first stage of analysis paid attention to broad categories related to the participants' schooling experience and ethnic labels, as exemplified in Figure 4.4. Here, responses related to participants' school practices and perception towards their Filipino background given closer attention. The images in the self-pictroduction activity were used as eliciting tools only and were not analysed.



Learning Chinese	1	1
Chi learning in previous education	8	17
Coping with Chi language	6	10
How they learn Chi in school	16	34
Language barrier	5	6
Motivation to learn Chi	3	3
Perceptions toward GCSE Chi	1	1
Perceptions towards Chi language features	1	1
Putonghua	2	2
Thoughts on switching to TC	1	1
Learning experiences - general	0	0
Activities in class	4	8
Adapting to EMI environment	1	1
Classroom experience in Phils	1	1
Favourite class	18	47
Language taught in school	1	1
Least favourite or challenging class	18	42
Math problem	1	3
Perceptions toward public exams	1	1
Preference on study environment	1	2
Subject failures	1	1
Subjects offered in F.2	1	1
Tutorials	1	1
Understanding LS better	1	1

Figure 4.4. Sample thematic analysis of student interview transcripts.

A further analysis into these two broad categories led to a further break down into types of practices in the school (e.g., learning experience in different subjects). The exploration of these relational links was informed by the notion of interacting with cultural tools at different contextual layers (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011), which highlighted the multiplicity of identity negotiation as a result of a variety of experiences and interactions in a learning context. In understanding the participants' perceptions about being a Filipino student,

I paid attention to not only responses to my question “Try recalling the moments when meeting a new friend. When this new friend asks you “where are you from” what would you say?”, but also to their cultural and learning experiences in Hong Kong. This is the point where I began drawing connections between the data and concepts articulated in Chapter 3 for analytical precision. To identify the interrelationships among its codes, for example, I drew on the notion of everyday practices described in Chapter 3 to look at their manifestation in the data. Particularly, it meant looking at the activities associated with Filipino students in the school. In Figure 4.5., I present a simple mind map that was drawn to indicate the “common practices” of the Filipino students that could be identified from the dataset. The themes were guitar, singing and cheering. The same exercise was repeated to explore other themes emerging from the theory, such as references to being a Filipino and Hong Kong person, especially when they could be “systematically evidenced in the data” (Welsh, 2002, para. 11).

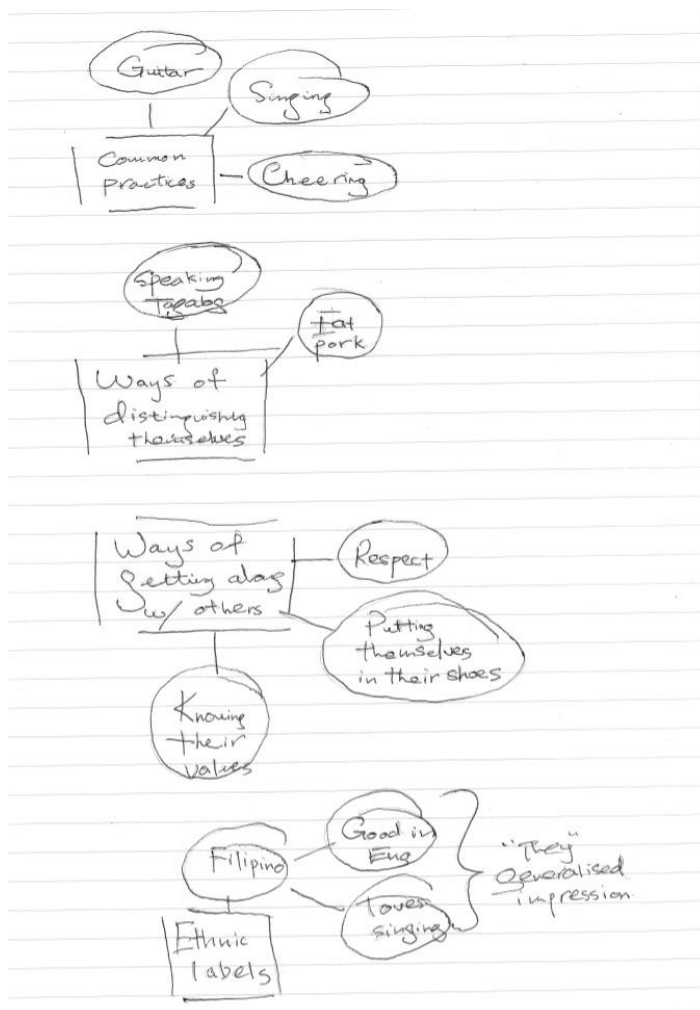


Figure 4.5. Concept mapping of relationship between concepts and data.

After these initial theoretical links were explored, I began looking for accounts regarding the students' subject positions that were related to other experiences in the school. An obvious example was their experiences about learning Chinese and the discourses associated with it, such as what teachers had told them, their references to their class activities or their feelings about them. Their discursive construction about their experiences in the school provided vivid clues on how students' negotiated their cultural positioning by their evaluative comments about their relationship between their ethnic background and experiences (e.g., I can say the singing part, the musical background that we have. I think Filipinos compared to the others are more musical). In other words, the analysis here contributed to the links between the participants' thoughts about being a Filipino and experiences in the school. The findings are detailed in Chapter 7.

Methodological and Ethical Considerations

Before presenting the findings of this study, it is important to make explicit the extent of the dataset and the claims that can be made about the data — the “what” and “what-nots” of the methods. The design of the study, ultimately, was not to provide generalisation about Filipino students in Hong Kong, but to shed light on how ethnic identity negotiation occurred in a specific site for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. In what follows, I discuss the limitations of the methods and the measures implemented to enhance the credibility of the data.

Methodological Warrants and Limitations

Firstly, the interactions and narratives described in this thesis pertain to only a single multiethnic school in Hong Kong. Because of the study's timeframe, it was not possible to conduct a multi-sited ethnography. Associated with this limitation, thus, is the restricted generalisability in terms of other multiethnic schools in Hong Kong.

Secondly, although I was able to visit the school freely, my role as a research visitor had restricted access to school source materials directly, such as the students' names and lists. My understanding of the school context is thus limited to what was provided to me by the school, the accounts of the teachers and the principal and what could be downloaded from the school website.

Thirdly, the class observations were limited to the lessons of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz. As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, because of the concerns surrounding teachers' workload, I was allowed to interview Mr Wong and Mr Cruz only. Such a restriction poses

limitations on understanding other classes taught by other teachers. Thus, the findings in the lessons of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz inhibit the study's applicability in other classes.

Fourthly, the student participants tend to concentrate on senior forms — Form Five and Six students. Of concern here is the imbalance in terms of age groups. I was exposed to only a second form (Year 7) class that limited my interactions with students at lower levels. It turned out, too, that they were more difficult to engage more deeply in the interviews. Their responses were not as rich as their seniors. Even though some students in second form signed up for the project, their responses in the interview did not provide the detail of those in the senior forms.

Lastly, my subjectivity as a Filipino person poses limitations on this study. It would be misleading to claim that I objectively studied the stories of the participants without looking at my own personal experiences as a Filipino individual. This issue, however, was addressed by paying close attention to how the participants' accounts are represented and rigour in the interpretation process of the data as discussed below.

Representation and Legitimation

Representation issues revolve around considerations on what the data will tell. Because of power differences in researcher-researched relationships (Kong, Mahoney & Plummer, 2001), research data can cross paths with the researchers' own worldviews and assumptions. In other words, this inter-animation of viewpoints in the research requires "constant awareness, assessment and reassessment" (Salzman, 2002, p. 806) as I brought to bear the implications of my participants' stories. A question here is whose stories would I, as the researcher, privilege? Following Mantzoukas' (2004) suggestion on making explicit the extent of representation in qualitative work, it is worth highlighting that my senior student participants tended to be more articulate in expressing themselves. This does not mean that I necessarily underplay the views of the junior students. Rather, such a phenomenon presents a useful point for reflection on what those students may not be able to fully articulate.

Tied to representation issues is the concern on the legitimation of participants' accounts. In qualitative research, ideally, participants are to provide researchers rich, honest and coherent accounts of their experiences (Kong et al., 2001). However, in practice, participants are subject to lapses in memory and communication skills. This notion can be exemplified by looking at the length of my interviews again. The interviews with junior students were generally less than 30 minutes and those with senior students more than 60 minutes. One can attribute this outcome to the less developed vocabulary of junior students in

expressing themselves compared to senior students. Should I render junior students' accounts less valid? Even though senior students are seemingly more articulate, does it mean one should not give it a critical gaze? If uncritical, it is possible to underplay shorter interviews. The reason is that terse responses often pose difficulty in interpreting participants' insights (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005). However, upon reflection, it is important to read the silences behind the data. For example, is Filipino identity in Hong Kong school difficult to fathom and express? What does this difficulty mean?

While questions such as these cannot be easily answered, addressing them boils down to reflexive exercises and upholding ethical commitments. Qualitative research is about embracing uncertainty (Damianova & Sullivan, 2011), unravelling insights from the fieldwork, finding possibilities and challenging certainty (Erickson, 1984). Accepting these challenges, while being ethical, may mean practising Kahn's (2011, p. 185) advice: "As ethnographers, we aren't watching lab rats run through mazes or observing processes in laboratories. We are real people, involving ourselves in the lives of other real people, with real consequences for all of us".

Validity and Trustworthiness

Ethnographic data validity and trustworthiness are achieved differently from quantitative measures as qualitative data collection is naturalistic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and a situated activity because of the constant engagement with the participants especially in ethnography (Gao, 2008). Shenton (2004) provided a comprehensive list of quality criteria in achieving trustworthiness in data. At least, four measures were implemented in this study: (1) familiarisation with the research setting; (2) triangulation; (3) ensuring honesty of informants and; (4) peer scrutiny.

1. **Familiarisation with research setting.** Because of my extended engagement in the field, it was important for me to gain some prior insider knowledge. To this end, I made informal visits to the school prior to observations and interviews, exposing the teachers and students to my presence that facilitated my subsequent data collection. So when the interviews began, I was less of a stranger to the participants, which helped open up the conversations with them in the research.
2. **Triangulation.** As outlined earlier, the study has seven different data sources. One important purpose of collecting such a range of data was to enable crosschecking. Doing so can help overcome individual weaknesses of each method (Shenton, 2004). For example, in understanding the classroom culture of

the students, I interviewed the teachers alongside my observations. The two data sources presented an opportunity to clarify my understanding of the observational data.

3. **Ensuring honesty of participants.** The honesty of participants can immensely enhance data credibility. Exercising ethical conduct is crucial here. In addition to the participation information sheet handed to the participants, I was explicit about their right to withdraw and that their responses would not be evaluated (like school tests). In doing so, it was possible to assume that those who participated in my study were genuinely interested in not just the study itself, but also its subject nature. This helped ensure that the participants were sincere in their participation and thus led to frank interaction between them and me.
4. **Peer scrutiny.** In my project, I was often conscious about being too close to my data because my participants would sometimes say something that echoed my own experiences. I capitalised on every supervisory interaction with my supervisors even though they were distant from my research context. I subjected my observations and assertions to their critique. Their feedback and probes often led to me rethink the perspectives that I could have lost sight of in the field.

While the complexity of ethnography can confound researchers at different stages, crafting a valid and credible ethnographic work “depends on walking a fine line between participation and observation: being immersed enough to know what you’re talking about while being separate enough to offer a critical analysis” (Harrington, 2002, p. 50). The above strategies were helpful in enhancing data credibility, which involved raising my ethical awareness as a researcher and being sensitive to the analytic implications of my subjectivity.

Ethical Considerations

This study was granted full ethics application approval (H0012944) on the 7th March, 2013 from the University of Tasmania (as shown in Appendix 1). All research processes were explained to participants in both writing and personal conversations. Consent was obtained from all participants, including parents of students below 18 years (as shown in Appendices 3.1 – 3.3). Despite the signification of participation through submission of consent form, it was made clear to the participants that they could withdraw from the project at any time and their associated data upon request.

Confidentiality was maintained at different levels and phases of the study. As a classroom participant observer, I sat with students who are not part of the research. I did not

include those students in the study nor did I write about them. Pseudonyms and initials were used to identify students in the field notes. All names and identifiers were altered after the transcription of interview data.

Data were stored electronically in the University of Tasmania's electronic storage facilities. For the handwritten field notes, they were subsequently inputted, archived electronically. All data will be destroyed and removed from the storage facilities after five years.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the methodological underpinnings of this study. My analytical interests rested on the ethnic identity negotiation in a specific multiethnic school, and ethnography was a plausible way of examining the phenomena in question, given its capacity to complement the conceptual demands raised in Chapter 3 regarding the multilevel analysis involved. I reflected on my personal motivations and pragmatic concerns that prompted my interests and endeavours in this academic undertaking. More so, in seeing myself as a research tool, I argued for ethnography as a way of bringing personal accounts of the participants in to the fore by way participating in the dialogues of my participants. As a result, I collected 7 different datasets that captured the richness of these dialogues, coupling the methodological rigour to crosscheck data sources to enhance data credibility. I reported the methodological and ethical considerations, which respectively discussed the limitations of this research and ethical conducts upheld. Building on this chapter, Chapter 4 outlines the treatment of data for analysis and procedures.

The study was designed to capture the ethnic identity negotiation of Filipino students in a multiethnic school. In seeing ethnic identity negotiation as a meaning-making process, ethnography provided a conduit to witness such processes in close proximity through constant interaction with participants. It consolidates not only the worldviews and values of the participants but also my own. In coming to terms with ethnography, as Goodall explained, "What you *do* know is that you are being pulled into something larger than yourself, and the pull of it against your soul is undeniable" (2000, emphasis in original, cited in Berry, 2011, p. 165). Choosing ethnography indeed is more than adhering to its practices; it is a chemistry of the interlacing values of ethnographers, their participants and even their wider community.

CHAPTER 5: THE BALANCING ACT

POSITIONING MELANGE IN HONG KONG

The previous chapter detailed how I positioned myself as an ethnographer in Melange, outlining the ways in which I explored ethnic identity formation of the Filipino students within a wider nexus of sociocultural processes. Whereas Chapter 1 provided a scene of the sector context of Hong Kong, this chapter discusses the ways Melange operated within Hong Kong's sectoral discourse. The intersection of the sector and the school is considered in terms of how Melange's institutional environment was enabled through the educational values put forth by Hong Kong's socio-political milieu. Analysing these links can draw attention to factors in the school that shape the cultural positioning of the Filipino students. This analysis is vital to the understanding of ethnic identity negotiation, because schooling discourse, implicitly or explicitly, defines the behaviour and learning of students (De Haan, 2005). To understand the social origins of Filipino students' cultural positioning in school, this chapter illustrates Melange's background and values that underpin its educational initiatives for EM students. The chapter then concludes by highlighting the juxtaposition of the school in adhering to the academic values in Hong Kong, while recognising and respecting the cultural backgrounds of the students.

Melange and the Socio-political Context

Melange operated under a Catholic Canadian educational foundation in Hong Kong and was situated in a Kowloon residential area. It is impossible to provide location-specific information for ethical reasons. Along with a number of affiliate schools, its history could be traced back to the 1960s, initially operating as a Bought Place School (BPS) and was attended mainly by local Hong Kong Chinese students. BPS schools were rolled out as a measure to accommodate the demand in school places as a result of the 9 years compulsory education policy. In practice, the Education Department purchased places from the private school sector to establish more schools. Schools under this arrangement were partially funded by the government, while maintaining its expenses relying on private funds or trust (Yung, 2006). After joining the Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) in 1999, Melange began admitting EM students with one class per level. DSS was introduced as BPS phased out in 2000. While schools under DSS scheme are private, they receive financial support from the government with flexibility in devising curricular, school fees and admission mechanisms so long as they conform to the basic educational standard (Yung, 2006). The shift to DSS contributed to the

upsurge of EM students in Melange as DSS allowed for flexibility of student admission arrangements. For example, Melange could admit students residing in other districts, which was not practised in aided or government established schools in Hong Kong. Under DSS, schools could also select the students they admitted and flexibly arranged their admission criteria. In the following year, apart from inter-district students, the number of EM students expanded as a result of “word of mouth” in which Melange became known to its students’ family members, community and friends by reputation. Another main source of Melange’s students was an affiliated primary school and another multiethnic primary school. All of these factors, according to both Mr Fung and Mr Wong, contributed to the increase in EM students in Melange. Such an expansion led to about 50% of the student body being culturally diverse students in 2003. The progressive growth in student numbers continued until EM students overtook the majority Chinese student population. Major ethnic groups were Pakistani, Filipino, Indian and Nepalese. Table 5.1 shows the demographic information of students at the time of fieldwork.

Table 5.1

Student Demographics of Melange Students in 2013 – 2014

Ethnicity	Total No.	Percentage
Pakistani	341	37.89%
Filipino	196	21.78%
Indian	162	18.00%
Nepalese	147	16.33%
Chinese	24	2.67%
Bangladeshi	11	1.22%
Others	8	0.89%
Korean	3	0.33%
Thai	3	0.33%
Sri Lankan	2	0.22%
Indonesian	1	0.11%
Japanese	1	0.11%
White	1	0.11%
TOTAL	900	100%

Judging from the occupational trajectories of their parents, the majority of Melange students came from working or middle class families. Melange charged a relatively modest tuition fee (HK\$3000 – 5000 per annum), which made it affordable to EM families in low to mid-socioeconomic strata. While ethnic diversity had become Melange’s key profile, the school was within the jurisdiction of the EDB. This fact meant that Melange followed EDB’s

guidelines and curricula (except Chinese as Second Language subjects) in their subject offerings. Put differently, Melange students received the same type of education as their Hong Kong Chinese counterparts in other local Chinese schools. Fundamentally, their education prepared them for the HKDSE at the end of sixth form. Because Melange students generally spoke Cantonese as their second language, the school had a suite of support measures tailored specifically for their language needs. Coupled with the enactment of the RDO as discussed in Chapter 1, the development of appropriate Chinese subjects for EM students had come to the fore in public discussion.

The Chinese language issue of EM did not incite much public concern. The colonial government's makeshift before 1997 was to allow non-Chinese students to study French as a substitute for Chinese language. In other words, students only needed to have a pass in GCSE French along with other HKCEE and HKALE subjects to gain a university place. In parallel, as Mr Wong recounted, Chinese language proficiency for civil servant positions before 1997 was not mandatory. For example, some EM parents in Melange had been civil servants since the colonial government and had gained a position without any Chinese language. However, after 1997, Chinese language became a requirement for all civil servant positions, applicable to all regardless of race. As Mr Wong observed, the government did not regard such a hiring practice as discriminatory, which attracted opposition with regards to the potential discriminatory effects of Chinese language proficiency requirements on EM (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2011).

As Mr Wong saw it, before 1997, EM parents held a different attitude towards Chinese as some of them might migrate or return home due to the perceived political instability resulting from the handover in 1997. Those who decided to migrate elsewhere or return home might have had felt that learning Chinese was not important. Those who decided to stay in Hong Kong could have had underestimated the impact of the mandatory Chinese language requirement due to the new language policy, which partly contributed to the societal tension on the need to learn Chinese. Overall, the sudden flux in Hong Kong's policy in pre and post 1997 had indirectly opened up debates into the access of EM to higher education because of the segregating effects of the language requirements (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2011).

Although, at first most EM students, as observed by Mr Wong, would buy into the importance of learning Chinese, the support mechanisms at that time did not suit the learning needs of the students. In 1997, Hong Kong's birth rate declined, which prompted a number of

local Chinese primary schools to admit EM students, regardless of the readiness of teacher training in culturally diverse settings. One of the measures of these schools, according to Mr Wong, was to use English as a medium of instruction and lowering the Chinese language requirement to suit the language level of EM students, although, assumedly, this arrangement had rendered students ill-equipped for the curricular demand of mainstream Chinese language subjects. For instance, a Primary 6 EM student under this arrangement would be studying Chinese subject equivalent to primary three only. This was then thought to be a less than desired arrangement due to the lack of comprehensive support measures for teachers and EM students on Chinese language.

This socio-political backdrop had provided a recipe for uproar among the NGOs advocating for the rights of EM students. It led to calls for a more comprehensive and equitable support for EM students as described in Chapter 1. The government was not necessarily neglectful of EM students' needs as it rolled out a suite of support measures, specifically to those studying in EM-concentrated schools, known as "designated schools". This practice, however, was not without controversy.

The Politics of Designated Schools in Hong Kong

At the earlier stage of this project, Melange was one of the 31 designated schools in Hong Kong. The label "designated" had at least two meanings. First, in a technical sense, it indicated a school's recipient status of special funding and afterschool support for EM students. Because of the presence of EM students, Melange qualified for such resources and had then been listed as a designated school by the EDB. In a political sense, the label suggested a form of ethnic segregation in the Hong Kong education system (Cunanan, 2011). Whether this segregation was deliberate or not is still open for debate. Meanwhile, judging from the overall school population of Hong Kong, EM students tended to concentrate only in a small number of Hong Kong schools that separated them from other ethnic Hong Kong Chinese students.

The exposure of such labelling practice on "designated schools" in the media was followed by criticisms from NGOs on grounds of potential racial discrimination (Mr Wong). Not too long after my initial visits in Melange, I learned from an NGO representative about the removal of the label "designated" from the policy documents (Wong, personal communication, July 13, 2013). From then on, these multiethnic schools were referred to as "schools [...] provided with recurrent funding and school-based professional support for NCS students" (Education Bureau, 2012, p. 5). Anecdotally, this change in nomenclature was seen

as a measure to avoid legal responsibility pertaining to discriminatory acts (Mr Wong). On the other hand, such a change did not seem to affect the funding structure and school support in those schools, as one could see from the EDB document quoted above.

Such politics in the labelling practice of multiethnic schools in Hong Kong, while having no obvious repercussion on in-school provisions, pointed to the room for discussion on equity issues in Hong Kong education system. From a structural standpoint, the funding structure and support mechanisms represented the broader political discourse that underwrote each multiethnic school in Hong Kong. To delve deeper into the ramifications of these initiatives at institutional level, I shall again outline the key support mechanisms of the EDB, but with more emphasis on how Melange deployed these resources.

Chinese Language Support

The important links between the provisions at sectoral and institutional level can be seen in the focused effort on the government's Chinese language support. Chapter 1 pointed out the EDB's emphasis on EM students' Chinese language education, which had taken form in following core provisions. In the context of Melange, I shall only focus on provisions 1 to 3 for the discussion purposes within this chapter.

1. provision of a "Supplementary Guide" that is based upon the existing mainstream Chinese language curriculum
2. provision of recurrent grant and professional support
3. after-school extended Chinese learning activities
4. dissemination of information for EM parents that promotes early integration
5. teacher professional development programmes

(Education Bureau, 2013b)

Development of Chinese Language Curriculum

As mentioned above, Melange did not have a compulsory Chinese language subject for EM students before 2003. EM students were only required to take French as part of the university language admission criteria in conjunction with English and other public exam subjects. Learning from another multiethnic school in Hong Kong, according to Mr Wong, GCSE Chinese was an elective of EM students for university admission. Such a choice became a trend until the government showed an emphasis on the Chinese language requirement for university entry. This meant that EM students would generally need to have a pass in GCSE Chinese to fulfil the university admission requirements. In 2003, the influx of

EM students in Melange had prompted its teachers to develop a school-based curriculum in Chinese language. In addition to the recurring funding, the school drew upon the Quality Education Fund (QEF) to develop this curriculum in conjunction with the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) and the University of Hong Kong.

Funding Structure

An amount of HK\$150,000, HK\$300,000, or HK\$600,000 recurring funding had been made available to schools in Hong Kong based on the headcount of EM students. Schools with at least 15 EM students were eligible for the HK\$150,000 funding. Those with at least 30 EM students were eligible for the HK\$300,000 funding and 60 or above for the HK\$600,000. Since Melange mainly consisted of students with EM background, it was eligible for the highest amount of funding. Melange had deployed these financial resources for school-based curriculum development and for employing teacher assistants. The funding structure also facilitated the development of materials for Chinese classes.

After-school Extended Chinese Learning Activities

Apart from the usual teaching of Chinese subjects, Melange partnered with University of Hong Kong in providing a range of Chinese language support in 2007. This government funded initiative sought to provide afterschool support for EM students, which prepared them for GCE Chinese exams (called “Student Support Program on Chinese Language”). The program supported Melange Chinese language teachers in terms of providing feedback and suggestions to their pedagogical approaches (Mr Fung). It also offered extended Chinese lessons for the EM students. These lessons focussed mainly on public exams and their curricula were designed according to the exam syllabus.

Melange’s Policy and other Initiatives

To delve deeper into Melange’s institutional context, it would be important to understand its own initiatives in response to the sectoral provisions, which underpinned its nature of interactions in the school. A key question here would then be: What had Melange done in light of the government’s provisions? Had the school gone beyond what the government provided? In De Haan’s (2005) parlance, such questions help explore the sorts of “scripts” that school members instantiate in Melange, or the actions and interactions privileged by the school. A few school practices at institutional level were evident, such as the development of school-based curriculum, streaming mechanism, class arrangements and employment of ethnically diverse personnel. These practices did not necessarily reflect the

mandates of EDB. Rather, they were initiated by the school itself or in cooperation with relevant agencies.

It is important to note that the initiatives of EDB provided Melange a certain degree of flexibility to implement its own measures. This arrangement meant that Melange was not restricted to the EDB's mandates in catering to the learning needs of Melange students, as evidenced by the autonomy given to the school (Mr Fung), which was also in accordance with the DSS arrangement. In understanding the dominant values in Melange's educational provisions, one starting point would be to look into the perspective of the principal. It can be understood through his expectation of the school:

In the school, I hope they will have a harmonious learning environment with students from different ethnicities. That forms our school's big family. I hope too that when they leave school and become part of Hong Kong's community and treat it as their larger family and that each of them live happily. (Mr Fung)

His emphasis on the relational aspects highlighted the importance of fostering harmonious relationships among students from different ethnic groups. Such a relationship characterises not just the student body of Melange but a goal it intended to achieve for its students. This harmonious relationship is brought to the fore in Chapter 6. Another facet that can be gleaned from Mr Fung's remark is Melange's role in facilitating students' integration into Hong Kong. His reference to a familial relationship with Hong Kong denoted a sense of belonging that the school hoped to cultivate among its students.

Seemingly, Melange's goal was not only to turn itself into a second home of the students, but also to help students see Hong Kong as their home. In many ways, the principal's account resembles Melange's key ethos, "harmony in diversity", a value that EM students could buy into according to Mr Wong. While this value seems to have underpinned the school's provisions, it would be useful to consider how such a value unfolded through Melange's key initiatives; and importantly, what "harmony in diversity" meant within the school.

Coping with Culturally Different Students: Lessons from the Canadian Teachers

Understanding "harmony in diversity" conjured up a number of challenges that Melange had surmounted in the past. As mentioned earlier, Melange used to be a local Chinese school, calling into question the way in which Melange transitioned into a culturally diverse school. This shift in the student population mix meant that the teachers became exposed to students different from their cultural background. Mr Fung recounted issues

related to teachers' lack of pedagogical training in culturally diverse settings that presented many challenges in engaging EM students in their learning. For example, Mr Fung shared with me that "Our Chinese... Chinese teachers are relatively stricter. But the stricter you are with the kids [EM], the more they cannot relate with you. If they were Chinese, they would conform, but the NCS [non-Chinese speaking] would really not know what to do [with you]."

Mr Fung discussed the broader cultural issues in classroom management that teachers struggled with back when Melange experienced a sudden influx of EM students. It subsequently became the main reason for employing Canadian teachers. According to Mr Fung, the Canadian teachers acquainted the Chinese teachers with better ways of "handling" or disciplining EM students. Although Mr Fung did not elaborate on why they specifically employed Canadian teachers, it was not difficult to understand such a decision because of Melange's affiliation with a larger Catholic educational foundation originated in Canada. Apart from pedagogical approaches, Chinese teachers learnt a great deal in terms of the way the Canadian teachers established relationships with the students. Mr Fung explained that working with the Canadian teachers inspired the Chinese teachers to be more accepting towards the cultural backgrounds of EM students.

Duty wise, the Canadian teachers mainly taught lower form English and French. The school employed more of them as the number of EM students increased. Their presence in the school was only temporary, however, and I saw none of them during the fieldwork. Although the Canadian teachers benefitted the Chinese teachers pedagogically, Melange decided to discontinue employing Canadian teachers after they left the school. There were at least two reasons for that. One was that the school management team opined that the Canadian teachers were not in favour of public exams but felt that education should not be just about exams. Second, the Canadian teachers did not devote much effort on public exams in their teaching, which contradicted Melange's emphasis on academic performance. But more importantly, the Chinese teachers who stayed at Melange were attuned to the culturally diverse environment of the school. This way, Melange was confident that it could manage the students.

Harmony in Diversity

Before Melange turned into an EM dominant school, it had a motto, 敬德明理 [jing de ming li] (Respect, Integrity, Understanding, Truth), inspired by Confucian analects (Mr Wong), which was described by Mr Wong as "very Chinese" and "very traditional". The motto was, however, changed as a result of the expansion of EM students. Accordingly, the school's mission and vision changed too. Melange's current motto "Harmony in Diversity"

characterised not only the cultural openness of the teachers, but also the school's institutional environment. Consider this description and note its capitalised words:

We envision Melange as "OUR HOME". Melangers are Open-minded and strive to Understand people of different cultures and places with mutual Respect. Therefore, achieving a society of Harmony is Melangers' Obligation by developing the virtues of Morality and Equality". (Institutional document)

This notion of HOME revealed another facet of being home. It affirmed the idea of moral value of equality bringing harmonious relationships into the school. This notion of HOME also emerged as an organisation mechanism for classes as described below. It perhaps signified Melange's commitment to not just the initiatives of the government, but also the needs of the students as it strived to provide students a culturally responsive environment.

Chinese as a Second Language Curriculum

The influx of EM students described above underscored the paucity of appropriate and standardised Chinese language learning materials not just in Melange, but also in Hong Kong's wider education system. As such, Melange developed its own materials, drawing from the government funds starting from 2004. Such an arrangement catered to students with a diverse range of Chinese language abilities. Hence, Melange developed two sets of texts: Chinese as a Second Language and Immersion Chinese (IC). Heavily supplemented with English explanation, Chinese as a Second Language texts covered topics related to basic conversations such as "Who am I", "What is your nationality", "What subjects do you like", etc. Needless to say, this set of texts attended to those who had limited command of Chinese. Immersion Chinese featured topics such as "Knowing oneself", "Birthday wishes", "Happy family", etc. with more emphasis on prose writing and without supplementary English texts. This set of texts was developed for those with more advanced proficiency in Chinese.

In Melange, teachers typically delivered Chinese lessons in Cantonese with occasional explanation in English. The written language was standard Chinese. On a further note, according to Mr Wong, Melange had introduced Putonghua as a medium of instruction in Chinese lessons on a trial basis based on a request from some parent groups.

Streaming Arrangements in Chinese Language Subject

Chinese classes were organised into three different groups in each level: 1) Mainstream Chinese (MC), 2) Advanced Chinese as a Second Language (ACSL), 3) Chinese as a Second Language (CSL). Students were streamed into these classes according to their grades in the Chinese language subject.

- 1) MC catered to students with native or near native command of Chinese. The MC curriculum was the one used in local Chinese schools. By the end of sixth form, these students would take the HKDSE Chinese language exam.
- 2) ACSL was for those who had a higher command of Chinese. Students in this group were generally literate and could manage daily conversations in Chinese. They were prepared for the GCEAL Chinese language exam, instead of the HKDSE. In comparison, GCEAL was less demanding in terms of content depth and difficulty, which was equivalent to Form Three level of the mainstream Chinese curriculum.
- 3) CSL aimed at new comers to Hong Kong and those who had low proficiency in Chinese language. Students in this group were introduced to a range of practical and conversational Cantonese. They would usually take the GCEAS exam by the end of Form Six.

The rationale behind this streaming practice was based on students' varying levels of proficiency in Chinese language. This variation was evident even from my own pool of interviewees. Some were born and raised in Hong Kong and went to local Chinese primary schools before coming to Melange. Some had the same birth status as the former group but went to English-speaking schools prior to Melange. Some others were newcomers to Hong Kong who moved to Hong Kong from the Philippines. Suffice to say, these groups had different language learning conditions that rendered their Chinese language proficiency highly diverse. The former group tended to fall into MC classes, while the latter two tended to fall into ACSL and CSL classes.

Class Arrangements – HOME

Aside from the qualities: Harmony, Obligation, Morality and Equality, a strong connotation was that the school hoped the students would feel at “home” as they go to school. Traditionally, in Hong Kong schools, classes are organised alphabetically and sequentially in each cohort, i.e., Form 2 would have classes 2A, 2B, 2C and so forth. In Melange, however, classes were organised according to the acronym of the school vision. So the classes were called at, Form 2 level for instance, 2H, 2O, 2M and 2E. This arrangement is noteworthy as it seemed to represent Melange's effort to reflect its values on a structural level.

Employment of Non-Chinese Personnel and Teaching Staff

A less noticeable population in Melange was the non-Chinese teachers. Whether their employment was deliberate for cultural diversity sake was not apparent from the data available. Yet, one could assume that the inclusion of non-Chinese teachers had added to the cultural diversity of the teaching staff, whether implicitly or explicitly. For example, some interviewees appreciated the presence of non-Chinese teachers in the school, such as Mr Cruz. I shall turn to this in Chapter 7.

Apart from the in-school initiatives, induction programs and regular professional development were offered to new teachers. These initiatives overall were representative of Melange's effort in providing EM students a culturally responsive environment at an institutional level. Moreover, such an effort was consistent with the ways in which the school perceived the students' cultural diversity.

Melange's General Views on Ethnic Minority Students

In attempting to understand the rationale behind the school's provisions, a starting point was to interrogate some of Melange's general views on its students. The in-school provisions were nonetheless prompted by the students' learning needs and diversity. Some of the measures above exemplified Melange's commitment to valuing students' cultural diversity. On the other hand, Melange was aware of its commitment to help students integrate into Hong Kong's wider society, or helping them make "Hong Kong their home" in the principal's own words. This commitment of Melange was in parallel with the EDB's (2013b, p. 5) broad objective for EM students: "The Government is committed to supporting the integration of NCS students into the community, including facilitating their early adaptation to the local education system and mastery of the Chinese Language". Further to this emphasis on Chinese language was Melange's value on students' academic performance. Although one might argue that academic performance is in principle favoured by all schools, Melange's experience with the Canadian teachers suggested otherwise. Academic performance, in Hong Kong terms, was measured by students' public exam results. Unsurprisingly, thus, the school expected the students to perform well in HKDSE. Teachers were implicitly expected to devote much effort in preparing students for public exams.

Simultaneously, the school was aware that EM students were characteristically different from local students. Both Mr Fung and Mr Wong agreed that EM students tended to have shorter attention span in classes. In other words, they preferred a highly interactive learning environment compared to their Chinese counterparts. Therefore, Melange teachers'

pedagogical concerns revolved around capturing students' interest. Mr Wong explained that once EM students found a subject disinteresting, they would be disengaged and could easily drop out and become "problem teenagers".

Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined Melange's initiatives and their links with the sectoral context of Hong Kong education system. These links provided important clues on understanding the socio-political backdrop of Melange. In addition to the historical background of the school, its transformation from a homogenous to a heterogeneous setting revealed the changes in its values and pedagogical emphasis, which will be described in more detail in the following chapter. Except the streaming arrangement in Chinese language, much of Melange's curricular provision adhered to the broader curriculum of the EDB and Melange had drawn upon various resources from the government to provide their pedagogical provisions for students. The intersecting discourses, however, surrounding Hong Kong's education system and the school's cultural mix had rendered the school tensioned between these competing interests. This tension stemmed from the need to ensure students' academic success and, at the same time, recognise their cultural background. This ambivalence could highlight the sources of challenge for EM students as they integrate into the wider education system of Hong Kong. Having a greater understanding of Melange's principles for the school initiatives could provide the mechanism to help reveal the underpinnings of the students' classroom environment.

On a theoretical note, the context of Melange makes it possible to raise questions about the ways in which its discourse constituted the collective voices that shape the cultural positioning of Filipino students. Collective voices could take form as classroom discourse and interactions that cut through students' day to day experience. Following the theoretical discussion in Chapter 3, these sociocultural processes were shaped by larger policy changes and funding structures, redefining the institutional workings of Melange. In other words, Melange's values and pedagogical emphasis on achievement might contribute to the shifts and tensions in the ethnic identity of students in light of their interactions with various members of the school. The forms of cultural interaction in Melange may then be grounded in these tensions, all of which provide important signposts into the ways the school conducts its activity. Working towards this understanding, one can then ask the way in which the above tensions and values materialise in the day to day interaction of teachers and students. In reiterating Bernstein's (1996) insight, given the socio-political background of Melange, what

specific forms of discourse were being instantiated? What role do these discourses play in the day to day experience and interactions of Filipino students in the school? In the next chapter, I will detail the classes of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz to outline how certain forms of cultural discourse of Melange were embedded in the pedagogy of the teachers.

CHAPTER 6: JUGGLING INTEGRATION AND DIVERSITY

THE NEGOTIATED SPACE OF MULTIETHNIC CLASSROOMS

Introduction

The previous chapter pointed to Melange's position in catering to the educational needs of EM students. In part, Melange reflected the ideals of multicultural education and the ways in which the teachers adapted to cultural diversity. But what happens when these ideals challenged the broader discourse of Hong Kong academic environment that privileges competence in an exam-oriented culture? This chapter discusses the links between the school's institutional arrangements and its pedagogical manifestations in classrooms. It describes how the school ethos and ideologies play out in the classroom environment and interactions between teachers and students. The aim is to understand the social praxis (Ratner, cited in Daniels, 2001, p. 129) in Melange's classrooms. In a Vygotskian (1997) parlance, teachers', as the learners' significant other, recognition of cultural diversity can be seen in the beliefs of the teachers and the ways in which they deliver their lessons that reflect power relations within an institution. In paying particular attention to Chinese and English classrooms of Melange, this chapter addresses the following:

- Instructional and interactional patterns of the teachers that represent the cultural ethos and value of the school.
- How social relationships are established in classrooms as informed by the school's sociocultural ethos.
- What teaching might suggest about the recognition of Filipino students' ethnic identity.

The primary focus of the observation was the teachers' pedagogy (including the activities they conducted and curricular materials they used) and interactions with the students. I also took notes of participating students' interaction with the teachers. In what follows, I present the cases of three classrooms drawn from observation field notes and interviews with the teachers. Altogether, I made 31 observations: nine in the Form 5 Chinese language class, 11 in both the Form 2 and Form 6 English language classes. The observational field notes presented here are drawn from the thematic analysis described in Chapter 4. The sorting and analysis of field notes brought to the fore the recurring patterns and pedagogical emphasis of the teachers, which allow for ethnographic description of the Filipino students' lessons. I

begin with a descriptive illustration of the lesson activities and interaction of the teachers with students. I then move on to explain how these activities suggest their links to the ways teachers adapt to students' cultural diversity. In keeping with this chapter's focus, the illustration is not meant to be exhaustive, but highlight pedagogical and interactional patterns that suggest shifts in power relations. Class A was an ACSL fifth form Chinese class taught by Mr Wong. Class B was an English class in form two and Class C was a form six English class taught by Mr Cruz.

“This Paragraph is Important” ACSL Class and Public Exams

My role as a researcher in Melange was explicit. Every time I visited the school I wore a badge that showed “Research Visitor”. Class A was a streamed lesson. Unlike other lessons, where students had a fixed classroom, Class A students had to go to a designated classroom for this particular lesson. Altogether, I made nine visits in this class as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Class A Observation Schedule

Visit	Month	Date	Day	Period	Field Note Code
1.	September	9	Monday	14:10 – 15:20	A 9.9
2.	September	11	Wednesday	12:45 – 13:55	A 9.11
3.	September	16	Monday	14:10 – 15:20	A 9.16
4.	September	25	Wednesday	12:45 – 13:55	A 9.25
5.	October	7	Monday	14:10 – 15:20	A 10.7
6.	October	21	Monday	14:10 – 15:20	A 10.21
7.	November	4	Monday	14:10 – 15:20	A 11.4
8.	November	11	Monday	14:10 – 15:20	A 11.11
9.	November	25	Monday	14:10 – 15:20	A 11.25

I waited outside the classroom until Mr Wong came before entering the room. The lessons began with formal greetings, in which students would stand up to greet the teacher and myself with “Good morning Mr Wong” and “Good morning Mr Gube”. The following describes my first visit in Class A, which briefly sketches its setting.

I entered the classroom with Mr Wong. He invited me to freely find a seat. I sat at middle line, second to the last row of the classroom. The classroom was standard in size. It could roughly accommodate 30 students, with the blackboard and teacher's

desk in the front. The classroom had a silver-coloured computer cabinet at the front, left side (facing the blackboard). The computer screen was facing towards the classroom door. When the students came in, Mr Wong invited the students to stand up and greet him and me. The class, among the 12 students, were two female students whom I recognised as Filipino and about 10 students of South Asian (SA) background. Mr Wong introduced me to the class as Mr Gube and briefly explained my presence as a researcher. The students greeted both of us by saying good afternoon in Cantonese and bowing. (Field note A 9.9)

In the remaining time of the classes, I took notes without engaging in students' activities or interrupting them. I participated in the class as an observer and I assumed no teaching or supporting role in any way. On rare occasions, when many questions arose from the students, some nearby students would turn to me and ask me the meanings of certain words when Mr Wong was attending to other students.

As soon as class greetings ended, Mr Wong typically began his teaching with very minimal introductory instructions, such as class administration or extensive explanation of activities. There was relatively little informal interaction with students at the beginning of the lessons. For example, I observed he once entered the classroom and wrote "Quiz and Dict" (Field note A 9.16) on the blackboard to indicate that a quiz and dictation would take place during the class, which can be described as follows:

Mr Wong started by announcing to the class that they will do an open-book quiz. He gave the class 15 minutes to complete the quiz. Mr Wong mentioned that they can find as much information as they can from the book to answer the questions. (Field note A 10.7).

When no quiz or dictation took place, Mr Wong usually began the lesson with a review of the previous lesson. The following section describes the recurring learning activities in Class A. At least five types of learning activities were noted during the observations: (1) quizzes, (2) lecturing, (3) passage reading, (4) written exercises and (5) film showing.

Quizzes

Quizzes were mostly brief and occurred in many of my visits. These quizzes (see Figure 6.1), although they appeared to be a formal assessment exercise, where students were supposed to do them independently, they sometimes looked like as if they were in-class exercises, in which Mr Wong made himself available for students' questions during the quizzes.

Advanced Chinese as a Second Language

Quiz

Name: _____ Class: ____ () 9-9-2013

Part I: Rearrange the following historical facts in order by putting the letter in the blanks provided:

A. 辛亥革命 B. 鴉片戰爭 C. 八國聯軍 D. 自強運動 E. 中華民國

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Part II: Rearrange the following heavenly stems (天干) in order by putting the letter in the blanks provided:

A. 丙 B. 亥 C. 丁 D. 庚 E. 己

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Part III: Rearrange the following earthly branches (地支) in order by putting the letter in the blanks provided:

A. 寅 B. 申 C. 子 D. 申 E. 亥

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Part IV: Dictation

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

Figure 6.1. Quiz on key Chinese historical events.

The following excerpt illustrates how quizzes appeared to be informal:

Mr Wong distributed a “Quiz and Dictation” sheet and told the students that they could look up their own books. He asked me to try the quiz too, but I simply kept and read it. The quiz was written in English, except the key terms in Chinese. During the quiz, Mr Wong explained some terms to a Filipina student (Helena). The Filipina student was listening to Mr Wong attentively and looked up her own book. The Filipina student discussed some of book content with her seatmate. Very soon, she raised her hand again saying “Ah Sir” (calling Mr Wong) for question, but Mr Wong was attending to other students. Mr Wong opened the e-version of the textbook and explained some terms and plots in 中國二十世紀初期的世會 [The 21st Century of China Society]. The Filipina student asked Mr Wong what 守舊勢力 [Conservative force] was. Mr Wong explained why certain events took place, for example, Sun Yat-sen’s respect from the CCP and democratic parties. He asked the students whether they were finished with the quiz and moved onto the dictation section of the quiz. (Field note A 9.16)

Because students could draw upon information from their textbooks, it appeared that the quiz was an open book one. As the quiz went further, however, students began asking Mr Wong questions. The field note also recorded that Helena was in a discussion with her peer sitting next to her. As Mr Wong walked around the classroom guiding other students, he later decided to explain to all students some key concepts covered in the quiz by revisiting a relevant chapter in their textbook IC.

Lecturing

Lecturing, in the context of this observation, refers to the oral delivery of the lesson content, i.e., by expounding on concepts and historical accounts of different characters, events and scenes in the IC textbook. Interaction with students in these processes was minimal, except where they raised hands to ask Mr Wong for help. The following excerpt describes how Mr Wong typically went through a topic in Chinese history:

After submitting the quiz, Mr Wong explained the history of 白話文運動 (Bai Hua Wen Yun Dong) [Plain Language Movement] in 1917. He then went on explaining the use of plain Chinese and talked about how it was used by farmers and that it bears the characteristics of 我手寫我口 (Wo Shou She Wo Kou) [I write what I speak]. Mr Wong explained that Southern Chinese still needed to learn modern standard Chinese (Putonghua). He moved on to the text and explained the word “我” (Wo) as written by Lu Xun. He used 三國演義 (San Guo Yan Yi) [Romance of the Three Kingdoms] and 三國志 (San Guo Zhi) [Records of the Three Kingdoms] to differentiate fiction and history (because one was written based on true story and one was based on fictional stories). Mr Wong underlined and bracketed key words in the text of Lu Xun. He differentiated different metric systems, such as 華里 [Huali], 公里 [Kilometres], 英里 [Miles] (華里 [Huali] = 576 metres). Later, Mr Wong explained the usage of 冒 in a sentence (run the risk of (something)). (Field note A 9.25)

Although IC was primarily a language subject, in which students would learn language skills such as listening, reading, writing and speaking, IC was designed to prepare students for GCEA(S)L exam. In GCEA(S)L Chinese, topics related to Chinese history and culture were covered. Hence, students learned skills beyond language proficiency, which demanded content knowledge on culture and history. The field note above showed that Mr Wong would spend time on explaining key concepts (e.g., 我手寫我口 [I write what I speak]) and

historical events (e.g., 白話文運動 (Bai Hua Wen Yun Dong) [Plain Language Movement] and 三國演義 (San Guo Yan Yi) [Romance of the Three Kingdoms]).

Passage Reading

Another common learning activity was passage reading. Apart from engaging students in the content of the text, Mr Wong highlighted contents that might need further explanation. He accomplished this by interspersing explanations of key terms as students read them through, as demonstrated in the following field note excerpt:

Mr Wong talked about the background of the story and asked the rhetorical question “一開始就發生咗 D 咩呢？” [What happened at first?] He said that the story took place in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. Mr Wong continued providing background information and he said “我哋會寵壞佢” [We will spoil him], explaining the situation of children who have many step mothers. He then asked the students to read, saying “大家讀一次俾我聽” [Let’s read [it out loud] to me]. The students read after him then he talked about 薛覺先 [Xue Jue Xian], a character who is 十三郎’s [Juzaburo’s] father. (Field note A 11.4)

Mr Wong began with an overview of the story, followed by a rhetorical question to draw students’ attention to a particular scene. After further explanation of the story background, Mr Wong asked students to read the passage and continued describing the characters’ roles in the story. He also used this exercise as a means to correct students’ pronunciation, which was also evident in other lessons:

Mr Wong asked a SA female to read a passage of the text. The girl stopped occasionally on characters she did not know how to pronounce. Mr Wong then enunciated the word clearly to the SA student. At times, Mr Wong would switch to English to explain key terms in Chinese. (Field note A 9.9)

Here, the class focused on the 19th Century Revolution, in which Mr Wong asked the class to turn to the 19th Century of China in the IC textbook. In this particular scene, Mr Wong instructed an SA girl to read the specified passage. She stuttered a few characters as she read that showed her limited familiarity with certain Chinese characters. Mr Wong interrupted by reading the word more slowly.

Written Exercises

Written exercises involved a suite of comprehension, character copying and vocabulary exercises. In general, the exercises were meant to raise EM students’ Chinese literacy. For example,

Mr Wong distributed a “Reading Practice” sheet. Shortly after, Mr Wong talked to a SA girl sitting in the front row. Mr Wong was nodding as he talked to her. “You have 10 minutes to finish your exercise” said Mr Wong. He instructed the students to “guess the meaning and find the most appropriate answer”. (Field note A 10.28)

The length of the written exercises was brief and usually demanded short responses. As shown in Field note A 10.28, an exercise typically required 10 minutes to complete. The students completed the exercises under the support of Mr Wong, in which he would go around the classroom to attend to students’ questions.

Film Showing

Towards the last phase of my observation in Class A, Mr Wong showed a video of a stage play of The Mad Phoenix (南海十三郎), which was in the syllabus of GCEAL Chinese. The Mad Phoenix showcased the life of a Cantonese opera playwright Nankai Juzaburo. The following excerpt recorded the scene while the clip was being shown:

Mr Wong turned the lights off and played a portion of 南海十三郎 video clip, which was a stage play of a Chinese opera. The students were generally attentive. Helena was looking at the screen and occasionally whispered to her seatmate. The female SA girls at the front started to chat more as the video progressed. Mr Wong stopped the video briefly, asked “…有啲咩個性呢?” [What’s unique about him?] and hinted to pay attention to 南海’s [Nankai’s] personality. (Field note A 11.4)

The students were attentive at first. Then, I noticed some chattering going on as the film played further among the students. Meanwhile, Mr Wong paused the clip and began a character analysis of Juzaburo with the students.

Mr Wong then explained the difference between 戲劇 (Xi Ju) [Chinese drama] and 戲曲 (Xi Qu) [Chinese opera]. Soon, Mr Wong asked “由邊部分我哋知道南海係聰明?” [Which section of the clip tells us that Juzaburo is smart?] and “How many of you know your IQ?”, when he discussed the relationship between 聰明 [Smart] and 記性強 [Powerful memory] which had to do with 南海’s [Juzaburo’s] character. (Field note A 11.4)

Here, Mr Wong introduced the analysis by asking students a series of questions regarding Juzaburo. First, he drew students’ attention to the clip and allowed them to recall Juzaburo’s intelligence. He linked this idea by asking students about their own IQ (Intelligence Quotient). Then he again turned to discuss Juzaburo’s memory and intelligence.

A common thread emerging across these lesson activities show that Class A was highly exam focussed. All of the activities were meant to prepare students for GCEAS or GCEAL Chinese examinations. Such an emphasis partly explains the extensive quizzes in Class A. Furthermore, Mr Wong would emphasise the topics students should focus more on, which were part of the exam syllabus. Apart from the exam, it seems that Class A would not cover anything beyond the examinations, at least in the lessons I observed. From an institutional viewpoint, this emphasis on exam is understandable as it is a main curricular objective of the school for Class A. While the above class activities illustrate Mr Wong's awareness of the need to prepare students for public exam, however, a further observation of his pedagogical approaches revealed his efforts in adapting to the students' cultural diversity and, to some extent, ability gaps.

So far, this account has addressed the 'what' question, in terms of the learning activities in Class A. To understand 'how' learning took place in Mr Wong's lessons, I shall sketch his approaches that supported students' understanding of the curricular content.

Adapting to Students' Cultural Diversity in Chinese Class

In moving beyond the learning activities of Class A, I shall describe how the teacher supported the students' learning and understanding of curricular materials. The goal here is to extract information that points to the ways in which the teacher adapted to the students' cultural diversity. This goal holds significance as Mr Fung, the school principal, and Mr Wong were consistent about the fact that they were teaching EM students. How did the teacher support the students in their Chinese learning? The following approaches of Mr Wong were particularly notable in the course of observations.

Explaining Key Concepts in English

Although Class A was an ACSL class attended by EM students with a fairly high level of command in Chinese, Mr Wong occasionally turned to English to explain a variety of key terms in Chinese history and culture. By default, the MOI in ACSL classes, like this one, was Cantonese. The interactions between the teacher and students were predominantly in Cantonese. At times, however, when students began showing signs of disengagement or misunderstandings in lessons, Mr Wong would translate the key terms into English such as the following illustration:

He explained that 深冬 (Shen Dong) [deep winter] connoted sadness and other words more deeply. I soon observed that only a few SA student in the front seemed to be engaged in the lesson. The Filipina student (Helena) fell asleep. The SA boys in front

of me were talking about something else. The SA girl in the front seemed to have more interaction with Mr Wong. He later wrote the English translation of a few key words and also taught the usage of 反問 (Fan Wen) [rhetorical question]. (Field note A 9.25)

Within this excerpt, there was a brief note of Mr Wong translating Chinese key terms into English. Meanwhile, as I went on observing the other lessons of Class A, I began noticing the way Mr Wong explained some textbook content in English, such as the following:

He went through the text sentence by sentence and explained their meanings mostly in English (e.g., when he explained 擬人法 [personification], it is like “to make the non-living thing living”) (Field note A 9.30)

The words in quotation marks represent the actual wording of Mr Wong as he explained to students the rhetorical strategies used in Chinese. In another lesson, it was apparent that Mr Wong switched to English to stress the importance of a noteworthy section of the material in question.

He was explaining to the students about the important contents in the topic, saying “呢一段好重要 ga [this paragraph is very important], this is a key part”. Later on, Mr Wong highlighted the features of novels and said “We can learn the issue, problem of a country” (Field note A 11.25)

In retrospect, Mr Wong’s use of English in Class A was more common than the field notes can describe. Rather than speaking in straight Cantonese, code-mixing (constant mixing between Cantonese and English) tended to be an approach of Mr Wong to support students’ understanding of the content. This approach can be rationalised by his awareness of the fact that EM students Chinese was not necessarily a second language for them.

In my interview with Mr Wong, one of our conversations touched on the language learning situation of EM students. Our conversation opened issues with respect to the length of time required for academics to formulate an effective pedagogical intervention for EM students. He commented:

That’s not enough [referring to academics’ theoretical emphasis on their work], because Hong Kong is ridden with so many problems. I told you before that many NCS learn English as a second language along with Chinese. Chinese may not necessarily be a second language for them. That is, if they already have a second language and can get by with it, they would not put so much effort [on another

language]. If I were them, I would do the same, you cannot possibly learn two languages at the same time, from their [EM students] point of view. (Mr Wong, I2)

Mr Wong's critique on socio-political issues in Hong Kong was associated with the education situation of EM students. He implied a fact that many EM students were perhaps learning Chinese as their third language, given that they spoke their home language as their first language and English as a second language. His assumption about EM students' wavering motivation in learning Chinese came from at least two phenomena. For one, EM students were coping with two languages in school simultaneously, which was presumably a difficult language learning environment. The other reason could be that the EM students could survive in Hong Kong just by using English and some Cantonese, so that they saw little point in investing much effort into learning Chinese. As a whole, such reasoning may point to the heavy use of English in Class A, perhaps an effort to alleviate students' language learning challenge.

Adapting to Students' Language Proficiency

The findings above indicate how the teacher adapted to the ways EM students learn Chinese. Upon further analysis, it became apparent that the teacher was negotiating his pedagogical approach in other situations beyond language. I noted that Mr Wong's approach to quizzes in Class A tended to be informal, wherein students sought his support extensively. This informality was quoted in another field note:

He distributed a "Quiz and Dictation" sheet and soon the students seemed to look confused (gazing towards the sheet and slightly frowning). Mr Wong pointed out an error in a multiple choice answer in the "Quiz and Dictation". The quiz seemed to be informal – or not strictly conducted. 4 SA students (all female) asked Mr Wong questions and he was smiling a lot as he tried to explain. Meanwhile, 1 SA male student asked me about 插敘法 [Narration interspersed with flashbacks] and I briefly explained to him what it means. Later, the students asked Mr Wong many questions and he suddenly said "forget about the quiz" and "we'll move on to the dictation". Mr Wong emphasised the purpose of the quiz to the students, which will be part of their GCE exam questions. (Field note A 9.30)

As Mr Wong attempted to initiate the quiz-cum-dictation, the students seemed to feel uneasy about the activity, which suggested that they were not prepared or confident enough to take the quiz. Then, they started asking Mr Wong questions aside from the typo they observed in the sheet. More questions emerged from the students. So instead of invigilating the quiz

progress, Mr Wong spent time explaining the content of the quiz to a group of students. As this interaction went on, however, Mr Wong decided to end the quiz portion of the exercise and continued with the dictation. Such an observation was not particularly striking when informality like this took place in another lesson described in more detail.

Mr Wong started by announcing to the class that they will do an open-book quiz. He gave the class 15 minutes to complete the quiz. Mr Wong mentioned that they can find as much information as they can from the book to answer the questions. The quiz focuses on Yun Tao's history and differences before and after 30 years in the story. Mr Wong gave the class some introduction to the text. He said that the students can answer the questions in the quiz in English, but he emphasised that in GCE exams, the answers must be in Chinese. Mr Wong interrupted the quiz shortly as he observed the class' lack of focus on the quiz – most of the students appeared to be not doing the quiz and talking to each other instead. He explained the equivalence of GCE Chinese exams to the local system. When Mr Wong told the class to carry on with the test, a SA girl asked him “How are we supposed to know?” (Answer to the question). Mr Wong replied to her: “You should look at your book” and then he launched an online timer to time with the quiz. The class seemed to be clueless (some were chatting, some (including Helena) were simply looking at the quiz papers). Then the 2 SA boys asked me the meaning of the first question. I said I am not supposed to tell them, but they probed me to hint them and I gave them a brief translation of the question. Mr Wong was walking around the classroom to respond to the students' questions (e.g., Mr Wong sat in front of a Nepalese-looking boy, then waved and pointed his hands towards himself, which looked like he was explaining the quiz question to the boy). Mr Wong instructed the class to guess the answers if they do not know the answer. Helena was writing on her exercise book (instead of the quiz?). Sooner, Mr Wong changed the quiz to a “task work”. (Field note A 10.7)

In this particular quiz, students were allowed to draw upon information from their textbooks. Mr Wong even allowed them to answer the quiz in English but warned them not to do so in the actual GCE Chinese exam. The quiz continued and the students were talking to one another and occasionally asking Mr Wong questions. Despite Mr Wong's effort on implementing the quiz more formally by setting up the timer, the students still appeared unfocused on their quiz. As noted above, some students asked me questions about the quiz that I was reluctant to answer. Other students also posed questions to Mr Wong, in which he

suggested to them to “guess” the answers. Later on, Mr Wong turned the quiz into “task work” – an ordinary in-class exercise.

Although the above shift in the quiz did not necessarily occur on a daily basis, the informality of Mr Wong was evident in other field notes. Such informality may be a way of adjusting to the learning of the students. Alternatively, one might say that Mr Wong did not insist his students attempted the assessment exercises they were struggling with. In a discussion with Mr Wong, I asked him about his academic expectation of his students. His response was perhaps indicative of his informal approach in his lessons.

It’s only a basic expectation. There wouldn’t be a sort of coercion, a feeling of being coerced. So it’s actually the other way around, in which teachers expect more from themselves. For example, in the teaching administration team, you have to follow the [curricular] progress thoroughly. The kids have to have a reasonable exam performance. Reasonable is in terms of teaching low-performing classes. You can’t possibly make them get high marks and the school would understand this. Then teachers should what is asked of them at the least. This what the school normally does.

(Mr Wong)

It is possible to draw a parallel between this account and the teaching of Mr Wong. His hesitance to enforce stricter rules in quizzes stemmed from his observation of the inherent Chinese language proficiency gaps of the students. As a result, Mr Wong accepted the situation that it was not realistic to students to fare very well academically and he based such understanding on the school’s ‘normal’ practice. The observation above illustrated how Mr Wong adapted to the linguistic ability of the students, in which he opted for a more informal approach in classroom. This informality manifested in the way Mr Wong responded to students’ queries extensively and he discontinued the quiz activities at times when he observed the students struggling with the quiz tasks.

Adapting to Curricular Arrangements in Chinese Language Subject

Aside from adapting to students’ linguistic diversity, Mr Wong highlighted a practice in Melange that underscored some challenges of Chinese language teachers. As discussed in Chapter 5, Melange’s Chinese language subject had adopted a streaming arrangement to cater for a wide range of students with different language proficiencies. Part of this arrangement was linked to a crucial task of the teachers: designing the texts and materials themselves. When I asked Mr Wong how school-based curriculum had influenced his teaching, he referred to some behind-the-scene challenges that teachers faced:

You can talk about it from different angles. School-based curriculum means you don't have a guide. You need to guide yourself. If you lack confidence and experience in this regard [teaching CSL], you will likely be confused and lost too. For me, I've been exploring this as I go. For instance, there are many new [elements], like this I'm the first one to try teaching this class, so I have to look for teaching materials. Okay, now that I have teaching materials, I have to design lesson activities. They're all new. Even if you see me teach this year, I haven't actually taught this [subject] last year, because they've been following the lessons until form five, then they study form five materials. So if I teach this class again next year, I will teach the same thing. (Mr Wong)

The dilemma he highlighted relates to the broader curricular arrangements on teaching Chinese language to EM students, and the ways in which teachers coped with it. Such a task, as Mr Wong suggested explicitly, requires “confidence” and “experience”. The less visible work of teachers involved exploring and designing new materials and activities for students. From the observation accounts and this comment of Mr Wong, it seems clear that he had been simultaneously engaging with the a curricular demand with little direction, students' varying language proficiency in Chinese, and more implicitly, their response to Mr Wong's teaching and materials.

The next section describes the English lessons I observed. The interactions and dynamics in these lessons presented a different scenario. I highlight these interactions to show the different forms of tensions in Mr Cruz's pedagogy as he tried to align his teaching with the cultural diversity of the students.

“Who got 7 out of 7?” Junior English Class and Academic Achievement

On my first visit to Class B, Mr Cruz and I stood outside the classroom while waiting for the Class B's class teachers to leave. As the class teacher was about to finish his announcements, I quietly went to the back of the classroom, in the middle row, to pull out a desk and chair to sit down. There were 41 students altogether in the class. All desks were occupied, except where I was sitting. Mr Cruz briefly explained my role as a research visitor in the school. My presence struck many of the students as curious as they kept peering towards me. On a typical day, Mr Cruz would greet the class by saying “good morning” or “good afternoon”, but with asking the students to stand up and bow. After greetings, Mr Cruz moved quickly to his lesson and announced the scope of their activity that day. I made 11 visits in Class B throughout the fieldwork as outlined in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2

Class B Observation Schedule

Visit	Month	Date	Day	Period	Field Note Code
1.	September	11	Wednesday	8:45 – 9:55	B 9.11
2.	September	13	Friday	10:45 – 11:55	B 9.13
3.	September	17	Tuesday	10:10 – 11:20	B 9.17
4.	September	18	Wednesday	8:45 – 9:55	B 9.18
5.	September	24	Tuesday	10:10 – 11:20	B 9.24
6.	September	25	Wednesday	8:45 – 9:55	B 9.25
7.	October	2	Wednesday	8:45 – 9:55	B 10.2
8.	October	8	Tuesday	10:10 – 11:20	B 10.8
9.	October	15	Tuesday	10:10 – 11:20	B 10.15
10.	October	22	Tuesday	10:10 – 11:20	B 10.22
11.	November	26	Tuesday	10:10 – 11:20	B 11.26

Mr Cruz often began the lessons with explicit mention of lesson activities and topics. On various occasions, when starting a task, Mr Cruz sought students' personal views in relation to the topic discussed. Such a form of opening interaction with students was frequently noticed, as noted below:

Mr Cruz asked the students who among them keep a pet. (Field note B 9.17)

Mr Cruz asked them whether they would buy shoes. (Field note B 9.24)

Mr Cruz briefly asked the class who wanted to be a doctor or lawyer. (Field note B 10.2)

The objects Mr Cruz referred to were all part of the textbook and exercise content.

Another example is shown below:

Soon, Mr Cruz instructed the students to “turn to P.35”, a section about musical instruments. He introduced the sub-topic and said “I was nervous in the piano recital”. He asked the students “Who plays instruments here?” and a few students raised hands. He also asked “Who plays other (instruments) apart from harmonica”, then some of the students cheered. (Field note B 10.5)

Here, Mr Cruz talked about his own piano playing experience as a child then turned to the students and asked them about their instrument playing experiences. This sort of interaction with students served as an implicit prerequisite to a lesson topic. One can see it as an attempt

to relate textbook content to the personal daily experience of students. In describing the ways Mr Cruz initiated a lesson topic, the following section illustrates how he delivered the lesson content.

Lecturing

Lecturing, as mentioned in the case of Class A, refers to the ways in which the teacher conveys the lesson content to students didactically. Among my field notes, Mr Cruz lectured and explained textbook content and exercises using various approaches. Because Class B was an English lesson, much of the content covered linguistic and grammatical knowledge.

Unsurprisingly, references to lecturing activities on English language were frequent:

Mr Cruz read out some words of East Asia map loudly, pointing out the commonly misspelled words. (Field note B 9.7)

Mr Cruz then drew a table to illustrate the examples of present and present continuous tenses. (Field note B 10.8)

Mr Cruz taught the usage of comma. “So if you added a comma, fine, but if you put it after 2 and 3 then not” and clarified the usage of some vocabularies “What does pursue mean?” and a student replied “Chase”. (Field note B 10.15)

In these examples, Mr Cruz focussed on heightening students’ grammatical awareness and understanding of language mechanics, showing them what to avoid and how to use certain tenses. In addition to the usual English language proficiency skill development, Mr Cruz introduced students to geographical knowledge, particularly Asian maps. In my first visits in Class B, students had many exercises and activities on Asian maps.


Mr Cruz went through the words – countries and capitals. (Field note B 9.23)

He explained the black lines in the map (Field note B 9.24)

Map knowledge was a key topic that students dealt, especially in the early phase of my visits in Class B, indicating that the students learnt beyond linguistic and grammatical knowledge from Mr Cruz. I shall turn to this point in another section to explain Mr Cruz’s rationale in adding geographical knowledge in English class.

In-class Exercises

In-class exercises were drawn from textbooks and worksheets prepared by Mr Cruz. Consistent with the lectures described above, the exercises focussed on English language and geographical knowledge related to maps. A worksheet is shown in Figure 6.2:

 English Language
SY 13-14

Name _____ 2M()
Date _____

Exploring the Regions of the World: Southeast Asia

I. Instructions: Write down your answers to the following question **before** watching "Travel the World with the Overlander: Singapore" from YouTube.

Q: What do you know about Singapore? Write as many as you can.

II. Instructions: Answer the questions below using information from the video. You may write down short responses.

- What did the interviewer first notice when he first arrived in Singapore?
- Complete the following table with what Joey thinks about Singapore:

Strengths	Weakness

- According to the interviewer, which two cultures have historically influenced Singapore?
- Complete the following statement: Singapore's population is around _____ million, with _____ being Singaporeans and _____ being foreigners, and with the four main ethnic groups being the _____, the _____, the _____, and the _____.
- Name TWO ways in which race plays a significant part in Singapore?
- According to the Housing Authority of Hong Kong's 2011 statistics, around 46.2% (www.housingauthority.gov.hk) of Hong Kong people live in public or government housing. What is the figure for Singapore according to Joey? What do you think is a major consequence of the difference in public housing occupancy between the two cities?
- Complete the following table with what Joey says about Singapore's foreign workers:

	Expats	Construction Workers
Countries of Origin		
Kinds of Jobs		
Problems with Locals		

- Complete the following statement: Singapore copes with its small land size by _____ more buildings and _____ more land from the sea.
- According to the interview, name ONE reason why Singapore is a very clean city.
- Complete the following equation: Western _____ + Asian _____ = Singapore

Figure 6.2. Worksheet on a traveling documentary about Singapore.

Noteworthy in these exercises was the way Mr Cruz facilitated them. In most cases, Mr Cruz would ask students to discuss their work with their peers or went through each worksheet item and question with the students:

Mr Cruz asked the students to fill in a portion of a survey "Exploring the Regions of the World: East Asia". Mr Cruz instructed the students to discuss their answers with their seatmates. (Field note B 9.11)

Mr Cruz introduced the topic about connectives and instructed the student to "Read the words highlighted in red" and asked "Which of those 5 terms are interchangeable?" (Field note B 10.15)

The in-class worksheets were not merely a 'sit-down-and-work' exercise. Mr Cruz did not ask the students to work on them independently and there were frequent interaction between the teacher and students or students and peers.

Quiz

Quizzes in my early visits in Class B appeared to be common in geography-related topics, specifically the ones regarding the world map of the Asian region. Mr Cruz strictly invigilated the quizzes judging from the students' reaction:

Mr Cruz briefly reviewed the map of Southeast Asia. He asked the students the capital of each Southeast Asian country. All students yelled out their answers (the boys' voices seem to be more prominent). The class then had a short quiz on Southeast Asian map. The students did them attentively, except one student gasped loudly (to attract attention perhaps). The quiz asked students to label the countries and their capitals, which lasted about 10 minutes. (Field note B 10.13)

The quizzes tested the students' ability in recognising the name of particular geographical features on a map. In other words, the quizzes were more about labelling the places with no detailed response required of students. Quizzes like these were no longer administered after Mr Cruz covered all topics related to world map.

Tallying Correct Answers

A frequently noted activity was the tallying of correct answers to in-class exercises and worksheets. This activity occurred after completion of an exercise that required only brief responses, such as multiple choice or fill-in-the-blanks type of classwork. The observations captured the following:

Mr Cruz asked them to calculate their total marks. (Field note B 9.17)

He asked the class to count the mark and ask those who got 7 or above to stand up.

After more sentence reading, he then asked who got 13 out of 13 correct and said that he expects the class to get 13 out of 13 next time. (Field note B 10.8)

This exercise went on until Mr Cruz ordered the students to "Count the no. of marks", or their correct answers in the exercise. Mr Cruz then asked "Who got 7 out of 7?"

(Field note B 10.15)

The tallying of correct answers to exercises was not necessarily a pedagogical activity in a narrow sense, but an assessment exercise that reflected Mr Cruz's expectations of his students. Of interest here was his reaction to students who failed to achieve the number of correct answers he expected of them (which was often full marks). This formality can be evidenced by Mr Cruz's constant reiteration of punishments in the classes, such as the club blue, when students violated or attempted to violate the school rules. The term club blue was coined by Mr Cruz. It denoted a form of punishment in the school, in which students would receive a

demerit for school offences. The sheet that recorded these offences was blue in colour. Hence, when students became part of the club blue, it meant that they received a demerit.

Adapting to Students' Cultural Diversity in Junior English class

Considering a picture of Class B's pedagogical activities, one may see the way in which the teacher adapted his pedagogical approach in English classes. Pedagogical activities could be a manifestation of a teacher's values that could point to his recognition of the cultural diversity of students. A further look at the observations shows that Mr Cruz engaged students in a way that implicitly recognised their diversity. He engaged his students in Class B through the use of (1) impersonation of accents, (2) teaching materials beyond the curriculum, and (3) academic expectation.

Impersonation of Accents

Mr Cruz impersonated different accented English occasionally. It appeared to be a way to engage students in lessons. Mostly, Mr Cruz mimicked the accents of those fictional characters portrayed in the students' textbook or exercises.

Mr Cruz asked the class what their mistakes were. He repeated what "call to action" means. Sooner, he read out answers of another exercise on country names. Mr Cruz asked who got full marks and asked those who did not get full marks what is wrong. Mr Cruz then read a paragraph about Shenzhen in an impersonated British accent. (Field note B 9.25)

The class then worked on pronoun exercise. He asked "What kind of change is that?" He put on a Japanese accent, mimicking another character in the textbook. The students laughed when Mr Cruz explained the textbook content and reminded the students about changes in pronouns. (Field note B 10.22)

Evidently, the students appeared to be engaged as a result of such an impersonation of accent. Impersonation of accent was a humour device to engage students in their textbook content, effectively drawing students' attention to the textbook content.

Beyond English Curriculum

In the observations on Mr Cruz's lessons above, one could tell that he taught elements that were not necessarily covered in the English curriculum. The notable one was geography, particularly on the world map. As mentioned above, there were quizzes associated with the world map. The following excerpt shows a discussion between Mr Cruz and some of his students on the mislabelling of countries in South Asian region:

After the quiz, Mr Cruz commented on their previous quiz on South Asia – he was puzzled that the Pakistani student labelled Bhutan as Pakistan, insinuating that they did not know their own country. He said that some gained full marks and some did not do well. Mr Cruz called out students to answer the questions on South Asian maps. Mr Cruz pointed out that a student wrote “Sir Lanka” on the quiz instead of Sri Lanka (making faces (smirking) while enunciating the word “Sir”) (Field note B 9.13).

Mr Cruz’s reaction was not surprising, given his concern on his students’ academic achievement. A more important consideration in this context was why Mr Cruz taught geography in English lessons. When I asked Mr Cruz how the curriculum influenced the way he organised his lessons, it turned out that he felt the English curriculum was not fully suitable to the language learning needs of EM students in Melange:

Well see that’s the thing. I think a lot of our...curricular concerns here in the school are not necessarily, in my opinion, applicable to the needs of many of our students. Of course it’s true that the English level of students is relatively high, but of course there are several things are problematic, especially when it comes to writing. And often, um I feel that many of our materials like the textbooks for instance are geared more for Chinese L1 speakers rather than the kinds of students that we have in our school. So there sometimes is a mismatch between level of difficulty and what the students can handle. Meaning the students can handle more but the textbooks don’t necessarily challenge them enough. (Mr Cruz)

Mr Cruz raised some crucial points here. He pointed out that the materials were geared towards Chinese learners rather than EM students who typically fared better in English subjects. Because he felt the textbooks failed to challenge his students enough, it then makes sense why Mr Cruz incorporated elements beyond the English curriculum in his own teaching. Critically, he was acutely aware of the different learning needs of the EM students, where he had to adapt his pedagogy.

Academic Expectation

In understanding more deeply the factors that underpin Mr Cruz’s teaching, I was first surprised by his frequent tallying of students’ correct answers in in-class exercises that were not necessarily formal assessments. Mr Cruz’s persistence on asking students to do so was not only noteworthy, but also drew attention to his behaviour towards students when highlighting their grammatical errors:

Mr Cruz reminded the students with a heavy voice that they should use present and present continuous tense. (Field note B 10.8)

He insisted his intolerance towards repetitive errors “I cannot take back to back (errors) in reported speech”. (Field note B 10.22)

At a discursive level, his emphatic mannerisms in correcting students’ mistakes were a way of drawing students’ attention to the critical aspects of their grammar learning. Such an effort came out from not only from his personal expectations, but his realisation of some deep-seated issues in the schooling environment for EM students and the role of effective teaching. When asked about what he had gained out of his teaching experience in Melange, Mr Cruz commented in detail on the streaming system in other EM schools in Hong Kong:

You know they have a Chinese stream and a non-Chinese stream. So I don’t really know if that would work, so a lot of the arrangements um have their pros and cons you know but I certainly like challenges and the idea of um helping uh close gaps in terms of access, privilege, information and um for the students in our school would... be something you know has been something... has been uh the focus of my attention in so many... years of my teaching you know. Because it’s different from what I was used to. And that’s why it’s interesting. It’s not just your run-of-the-mill, you know top school where students would succeed more or less regardless of what happens in the school.

Apart from the streaming arrangements, he implied that Melange was not regarded as a top-notch school, where students would generally not be high achievers. For him, teaching quality did not make huge difference in prestigious schools, wherein students would generally fare well academically. Rather, the condition of Melange led him to realise profoundly the consequences of his teaching efforts:

And here I also learned the importance of... you know good teaching. Because in a school like here in Hong Kong in a band 1, quote and quote band 1 school or a top school or in the Philippines or you know like top schools have a way of working really well, partly the students you know have a lot of resources and a lot of um ways to... sometimes compensate or certainly over-complement what the school is offering you know. But many of our students in our... this school don’t have that. So that’s why teaching takes on a very critical influence in their development in the absence of other... you know resources that would help them. So here, you know um uh... good teaching and not so good teaching will have real consequences as opposed to in a top

school where not so good teaching would probably mean the difference between a B+ and a B, not like a B and a D you know.

In high-performing schools, as Mr Cruz observed, students had more access to resources that could complement mediocre teaching, such as tutorials in private education sector. Melange students, however, had relatively less access to other resources compared to prestigious schools Mr Cruz had come across. From that, he learnt the importance and effect of good teaching on Melange students. In parallel, Mr Cruz adapted his teaching efforts based on EM students' learning needs, coupled with his desire to further their academic performance. Setting high standards, therefore, was not surprisingly part of his daily practice in closing students' achievement gap, which echoed his belief that: "once you start cutting corners, once you start sacrificing standards or expectations... at some point, quality will suffer and your performance will suffer because you realise that you don't always have to give it your hundred per cent".

In the next section, I focus on another pedagogical scenario, a Form 6 English language class. I show how the teacher, Mr Cruz, sought to align his teaching with the academic demands in the public examination, HKDSE. As I will show, the teacher created a learning environment that reflected not only his high academic expectations on the students, but also the ways in which he engaged the students with pertinent social issues arising from some of the lesson content.

"Who is entitled to a dream?" Senior English Class and Window to the Society

Unlike Classes A and B, I entered Class C on my first visit during lunch hour. Mr Cruz was not yet in the classroom at that time. The setup of the classroom was strikingly different from the others as there was a library corner where I was seated. I sat at a desk, located next to the classroom door, which was covered with red cloth and a chessboard and chess pieces atop. To my right was a world map on the wall. Behind me was a small library with bookshelves full of books. On its floor was a carpet decorated with round cushions that resembled designs of Middle East fabric. The classroom was divided by a line of lockers, with the desks on the left and the library corner on the right (where I was seated). There were about 23 girls and 13 boys in the class. 12 of them were Filipinos. As a first time visitor, I became curious about the classroom's setup. Because Mr Cruz was a class teacher of Class C, he seemed to have had autonomy to decide on the decoration of the classroom. A conversation with Louisa, a female Filipino student whom I later interviewed indicated how Mr Cruz asked her and her classmates to decorate their classroom every year based on a

theme Mr Cruz set. Mr Cruz typically began the class with no formal greeting like in the classes described previously. He would usually jump straight to either administration matters or the lesson. I often found the class engaging in different activities and more class administration, such as matters related to their public exam preparation, i.e., HKDSE. I overall made 11 visits in Class C, as shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3

Class C Observation Schedule

Visit	Month	Date	Day	Period	Field Note Code
1.	September	10	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 9.10
2.	September	17	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 9.17
3.	September	24	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 9.24
4.	September	27	Friday	8:45 – 9:55	C 9.27
5.	October	8	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 10.8
6.	October	15	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 10.15
7.	October	18	Friday	8:45 – 9:55	C 10.18
8.	October	22	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 10.22
9.	October	29	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 10.29
10.	November	5	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 11.5
11.	November	26	Tuesday	14:10 – 15:20	C 11.26

Class C activities were largely discussion based with occasional in-class exercises and test paper review. I shall elaborate below in more detail.

Class Discussion

The discussions were mostly based on readings assigned by Mr Cruz. These readings were not textbooks, but novels, such as *Animal Farm* by George Orwell (1945). At times, discussion on readings as such was preceded by brief worksheets, which often ended up as a recipe for elaborated exchanges between Mr Cruz and the students. This scenario can be described as follows:

The lesson was a continuation of a previous discussion of a book entitled ‘*Animal Farm*’. Mr Cruz asked the students to find relevant excerpts from the book to support their opinion on a worksheet that required agreeing or disagreeing on certain statements (there were 10 statements altogether). Most students grouped themselves into four. They all read their books and discussed their ideas with their peers. (Field note C 9.10)

After the students finished discussing their ideas, Mr Cruz asked the students in groups to defend their responses in the worksheet. Students presented an elaborated reasoning for their opinions concerning issues on human and animals. As facilitated by Mr Cruz, other students responded to the opinion of the presenters. The question and answer interaction among the

students would generally end up in a series of questions from Mr Cruz that were linked to broader societal issues, such as linking certain plots with regards to Hong Kong people's views about the Chief Executive. This sort of discussion was not limited to the analysis of characters and plots in the book. At first, I was left wondering by the shifts in the discussion from book content to societal issues. After further observations, however, such a discussion appeared to be common and, in fact, was a pedagogical approach of Mr Cruz, as I noticed in another lesson that focused on a workbook called "Workplace Communication". For example, when Mr Cruz discussed issues with regards to U.S. financial crisis, he remarked:

"Does that not (create) fear in your heart?" In an austere voice with his eyes wide open, he asked the students "What do you learn in BAFS?" and added "You're not discussing these economics?!" After a moment of silence, he reminded students that "Countries borrow money from each other". From this, Mr Cruz explained to the students about issues with debt, saying "I have bills to pay but can't borrow money!" and asked them "Is that a good thing or bad thing? How do I pay back my debt?" He added that "The U.S. has never run out of money" and emphasised that "The world is crumbling!" (Field note C 10.15)

Instead of just discussing the content of the workbook, Mr Cruz expressed disappointment about the students' lack of awareness on critical issues in the financial sector of the United States, thereby questioning whether these issues were at all discussed in their Business, Accounting and Financial Studies classes. The students just remained quiet.

Another notable feature in Mr Cruz's discussion was his the way in which he related readings to family issues. Family issues, in this context, refer to parental roles and relationships. In one of my last visits in November 2014, Mr Cruz initiated a series of class discussions on the book, *The Glass Menagerie* (Williams & Bray, 1999). In lieu of exchanges between him and his students, Mr Cruz requested and chose some students to perform a role play activity based on the character in the book. After going through a few roles of characters, Mr Cruz asked his students whether they had shouted at their parents, as if they had disobeyed them. He said the following with a heavy tone:

Have you ever said that line to your parents? (Field note C 10.15)

Who is entitled to a dream? (Field note C 10.15)

Again, Mr Cruz was connecting the plots in the book to some of the common family issues he may have seen among his students. He seemed to be provoking his students to look into those family issues. Most of them did not actively respond to him and some of them were even

pensive as they listened to Mr Cruz. This scenario illustrated Mr Cruz's effort on not taking the texts too literally and how he would tie them into broader social and family issues that were relevant with the students.

Test Paper Review

I visited two classes that dealt with a test paper that the students had taken before. The marked test papers were printed on yellow and green sheets that looked like the ones in actual public exams. Review meant that Mr Cruz went through each question and elaborated on the mechanics that needed attention. Apparently, this was the only time when the students would receive input from Mr Cruz regarding linguistic and grammatical knowledge, as much of the input was geared towards tackling errors and highlighting certain hints that students could have found in the test, such as asking students, "What did I write beside Q13?" (Field note C 10.22), referring to information in a question item.

More importantly, Mr Cruz stressed the importance of test-taking skills specific to English exams and that at times exam papers were not quite like real world English:

Although he asked the students "How do you improve your comprehension?" he lamented how "artificial" test papers are. (Field note C 10.29)

With a markedly loud voice, Mr Cruz said "The temptation now is to just copy" and said "I distinctly remember I was shouting at you... you have to be specific about your answer" (Field note C 10.29)

These accounts showed Mr Cruz's tendency to emphasise scoring techniques in tests, similar to the ones observed in Class B.

In-class Activities

In-class activities in Class C varied greatly. They involved peer-to-peer discussion and completion of worksheets. These activities, regardless of their topic, were highly interactive. For example, in a lesson in September, Mr Cruz asked the students to work on a foreword writing exercise. Foreword, in this scenario, was an introductory piece written as a preface to a story book the students were reading. Having prepared their written work, Mr Cruz instructed the students to exchange their writings and give feedback to each other:

I watched a Filipino female student's work being reviewed by her Indian-looking classmate. She seemed to be nodding and agreeing with her classmate's feedback and comments. I overheard Mr Cruz telling another female Filipina with glasses that he understood she was struggling with understanding Shakespeare's text. When time

was up for the peer assessment, Mr Cruz invited the students to share useful advice and comments for writing forewords. (Field note C 9.27)

After this, each student he called presented their insights on how to write a better book foreword. Here, Mr Cruz assumed that the students would not only learn from him, but also from their peers. There was no cultural divide and students worked with their peers regardless of ethnic grouping. Almost all in-class activities presented an opportunity to work with one another through intense discussions and exchanges with peers.

Adapting to Students' Cultural Diversity in Senior English class

Class C, as noted above, involved many discussions and interactions. This was a tangible aspect that differentiated this class from Class B, in which there was more attachment to textbooks. Put differently, Class C presented many conversations that had little to do with textbooks or exams, except for periods when the students took their tests and when reviewing their results. A portion of the lessons I observed was devoted to exam skills improvement. Hence, Mr Cruz engaged Class C students slightly differently, such as his exclamations and the ways he shared his personal experiences to the students.

Exclamation

Exclamation primarily refers to Mr Cruz's tone to his students when emphasising certain points he wanted to make to them. This mannerism in his speech was prevalent when students fell short of Mr Cruz's expectation. On the day the class was discussing the writing of book forewords, I heard Mr Cruz saying, "Who don't know how to write are out on the streets!" Of course, he did not mean that literally, but rather it was a reaction to some students' inability to format their writing properly in word processing software:

Mr Cruz seemed to have illustrated the word with a concern on students' PC literacy. He candidly spoke of how students learn PC by textbook that does not show them practical usage of computer software. (Field note C 9.27)

Cases like this, Mr Cruz telling off the students, were common in Class C. They were also noted when Mr Cruz spoke of how the students were not aware of the financial crisis in the United States. In some way, it represented the expectation gaps between what the students were supposed to have learnt at their level and what they had demonstrated to Mr Cruz; the students showed no apparent objection towards Mr Cruz as he told them off, however. In fact, Trisha, a female Filipino student, shared with me how Mr Cruz's lengthy lectures had changed the ways she thought of herself. I shall turn to this point in more detail in the next chapter.

Related to this account were the ways in which Mr Cruz recounted how past Melange students fared poorly in public exams. When he was explaining the errors some students made in their test paper, such as their lack of ability to memorise a wide range of vocabulary, Mr Cruz said he could already memorise “the periodic table when I was 14” in chemistry. He then lamented on the fact that in Melange, “fewer than half get a 2 in our school...” in maths (Field note C 10.22).

You know there’s an issue, there’s a mystery here. I mean yea in fact... more so than Chinese, I think math is our... weakness. It’s actually what prevents a lot of our students from entering university because less than half of our students get the minimum mark in the public exam math. (Mr Cruz)

In HKDSE, a score of 2 was a pass with 5** being the highest. So, when he referred to students’ underachievement, there was a reference to a broader situation of Melange: students were not securing high enough grades in examinations to gain places in university, a phenomenon that reflected the school’s relatively low standing in Hong Kong in terms of quality (Erni & Leung, 2014). Therefore, it did not seem surprising when Mr Cruz expressed fervent concerns with the academic performance of the students. This concern can be captured by Mr Cruz’s emphasis and mannerisms as he cautioned the students about the mistakes they made. When pointing out an erroneous answer in the test paper, Mr Cruz behaved as follows:

Mr Cruz, his eyes bulging, wriggled his right arm as he emphasised the answer. Then he complained “This class got so many mistakes... so many people wrote change.”

Mr P flexed his right arm forward shouted “so why are you going back to the same sentence?” (Field note C 10.29)

Here, it was the students repeating the mistakes they made that disappointed Mr Cruz. Mr Cruz added that he “chose something near to [his] heart”, indicating the seriousness he took in designing the test questions. To his disappointment, at times fused with sarcasm, he asked the students “Did I give you a practice of irony?” Overall, such mannerisms of Mr Cruz were one way of asserting his academic expectations on the students.

From Multiethnic Learning Environment to Ethnic Identity

One noteworthy aspect in the classroom interactions was how the students were addressed in terms of their ethnicities. Generally, there was no difference in the ways Mr Cruz addressed the students between Filipino and non-Filipino groups. Mostly, Mr Cruz addressed the students as a whole and seldom engaged in ethnic group-specific conversations,

such as interacting more with one ethnic group and less with others. For example, an informal count of coding shows 29 counts of interaction with Filipino students and 21 with South Asian and non-Filipino students. This was a relatively balanced number, considering that my observation focused mainly on the teacher and Filipino students. In other words, there was no obvious difference in the ways Mr Cruz treated the students. There was also no observable sign of him favouring any students from a particular group.

The only notable difference was when Mr Cruz played a video about Filipino prisoners. In that particular lesson, Mr Cruz was leading a discussion on the students' thoughts on working for the Correctional Services Department (CSD). Questions included Mr Cruz asking "What's the crime situation in your home country?" After a brief discussion, Mr Cruz asked, "How about in the Philippines?" A student, who appeared to have a Filipino accent, replied, "They dance". Mr Cruz then walked to the computer and launched a video of Filipino prisoners at the New Bilibid Prison in Manila, Philippines, performing a Michael Jackson dance. The video engaged most Filipinos in the class as I observed them laughing. The South Asian students, on the other hand, were less engaged and did not react as enthusiastically as the Filipinos. Nevertheless, this choice of Mr Cruz to play the video was a response to a student, having in mind to illustrate a pertinent social issue about prison-related jobs.

The above scenario points to ways in which the teacher responded to students' learning. This response necessitated cultural knowledge, such as the background of Filipino students, to enable them to participate more fully, or at least engage, in learning. More broadly, in better understanding how Mr Cruz perceived the ethnic diversity of Melange, part of my interview sought a brief reflection on his relationship with the Filipino students:

Um I would suppose it's close, I mean it's just a rarity to have... um an ethnic minority teacher in a... teaching staff populated mostly by Chinese. You know um. It's um in the past though. Currently we also have a Pakistani teacher and before that we had an Indian teacher also. So we, I mean, I suspect though by natural tendencies of human nature to you know communicate with people who seem to be like you.

Then yea that would be the case.

For him, being an ethnic minority teacher was a rather unique experience given that most of his colleagues were of ethnic Hong Kong Chinese. This uniqueness, meanwhile, led him to describe his relationship with the Filipino students by highlighting the likelihood to communicate with somebody who shared a similar cultural background with him. His

reference to “human nature” points to a larger phenomenon that characterises the ethnic identity negotiation process in Melange.

In an attempt to probe what Mr Cruz meant by “human nature”, I asked him whether the Filipino students have a strong sense of being a Filipino. He responded to me, “I think they do but I’m not sure if it’s just skin-deep um or at a superficial level”. He then added, recognising the complexity of identity:

I think uh the notion of cultural identity is obviously more complex, so whether they uh really you know believe in that identity because of their blood, you know skin colour, religion, language, you know it’s hard to pin down.

Mr Cruz raised some critical elements regarding identity, pointing out its relationship with bodily appearance, religious belief and language. Instead of describing how these elements came into play, Mr Cruz subscribed to a broader phenomenon he had observed in Hong Kong:

I do think that in Hong Kong, ethnic minorities stand to be more focussed on their being an ethnic minority and having their own individual national identities, partly because the media does that all the time, they always force this divide between the Chinese majority and the ethnic minority groups.

For Mr Cruz, the divide he described stood to be a boundary that separated ethnic minorities and Hong Kong Chinese people, having in mind the role of media in reinforcing such demarcation. Tangentially, EM students seemed to have had been placed within an imaginary space that confined their identity. Mr Cruz went on elaborating on his observation, but focusing on the Filipinos this time and distinguishing them from other ethnic groups:

I think for our Filipino students, they do associate themselves with um as I’m not sure if it’s really nebulous but some sort of sense of being a Filipino. Although because they’re... a lot of them don’t speak Tagalog, a lot of them did not grow up there, a lot of them um you know just have some nominal ties to the Philippines. So I don’t know how deep their connection is...

Mr Cruz pointed to their inability to speak Filipino and the fact that most of them grew up in Hong Kong. In casting doubts about the depth of the Filipino students’ inclination towards Filipino culture, he summed it up by describing their ethnic identity as merely “a labelling or branding thing”. In other words, as he surmised, the Filipino students generally had no problem identifying themselves this way, “Oh I’m Filipino because what else would I be”.

Chapter Summary

In attempting to understand the social origins of ethnic identity formation of Filipino students in Melange, this chapter illustrated the educational provision at classroom level in Chinese and English classes. The provision was in resonance with the teachers' recognition of cultural diversity in Melange classrooms. This recognition represented scenarios in which teachers negotiated their own teaching practice with reference to broader curricular goals, while adapting to students' cultural, linguistic and academic background.

The instructional and interactional patterns in Classes A, B and C were illustrative of Melange's cultural ethos in intricate ways. The teachers both recognised the need to meet the curricular goals, such as the exam-focused nature of Class A and the emphasis on academic achievement in Classes B and C. Simultaneously, the teachers had to adapt into ways they felt that would be helpful to their students' learning, for example, through constant language switching in Chinese classes and introducing materials and activities beyond the English curriculum.

The social relationships in Chinese and English classrooms were formed rather differently, which can be briefly discussed from the viewpoint of power relations. In Chinese classes, Mr Wong exerted his power as a teacher less intrusively by relaxing the quiz invigilation and allowing students to ask him questions. Though, in keeping with the GCE Chinese exam curricular aims, however, he devoted much of his teaching by just focusing on relevant materials without deviating from what the exam required of the students. In English classes, Mr Cruz used his power to reinforce his academic expectations on the students and by expressing outward rejection towards mistakes that he thought students could have avoided. Simultaneously, Mr Cruz taught beyond the curricular objectives of the English language examination. In part, this was due to his perceived incompatibility of the existing English curriculum with the minority students.

Although this chapter has illustrated the key instructional and interactional patterns between the teachers and students observed in the Chinese and English classrooms of Melange, one must move beyond the data here to grasp more fully how Filipino students negotiated their ethnic identity in relation to the classroom and institutional contexts described so far. At this level, the teachers, although being aware of the students' diverse ethnic backgrounds, seemed to point to their learning characteristics rather than their ethnic characteristics, except Mr Cruz's reference to Filipino students' "skin-deep" identity. Hence, to understand what this identity (or otherwise) entails, it is critical to turn to the Filipino

students' own account of their schooling experience and ethnic identity. As I will illustrate in Chapter 7, Filipino students exhibited cultural positions that highlighted how their ethnic identity was enacted, contradicted and remade in this site of Melange that reveals – in appropriating Mr Cruz's remark– what else would the Filipinos be.

CHAPTER 7: A GUITAR THAT UNITES

THE I-POSITIONS OF FILIPINO STUDENTS

Introduction

Students' cultural positioning in the multiethnic school is negotiated through the academic environment and its institutional members. The preceding chapter discussed the school's manifestation of the dominant discourses in its classrooms, which uncovered the school's academic emphasis and respect for cultural diversity, partly through the covert ethnic markers in Chinese lessons and the overt ethnic markers in English lessons used by the teachers. In this chapter, the focus is on the Filipino students themselves to identify how their academic environment intersects with their cultural positioning as Filipino and/or local Hong Kong people. Starting with a description of Filipino students' practices and identities, the chapter discusses how these practices enabled shifts in cultural positions that made the ethnic divisions permeable in Melange.

Social Origins of Identity Positions in the School

The link between Melange and the Filipino students' ethnic identity is tangible when one considers the school's social groups in different contextual layers. Here, the school can be thought of as a trope, where all EM students converged and participated in cultural practices as a way of making sense of their being. Following Vadeboncoeur, Velloso and Goessling's (2011) framework, three points are illustrated here – Filipino students' social interaction through social practices, relationships, power, and relations with their (1) teachers, (2) Filipino peers and (3) South Asian peers. These person-culture interactions at Melange, as the students recalled and described them, reflected sense-making processes that provided clues on how they associated themselves with the schooling environment. As argued in Chapter 3, these processes can shed light on their I-positions' intersections with the school's different contextual layers. Analysing these contextual layers provides an inroad to the "social origins" (Aveling & Gillespie, 2008, p. 205) of Filipino students' I-positions in the school. In this sense, the movement of I-positions across different contextual layers can draw attention not only to the cultural tools that students associate themselves with in the school, but also the tensions that arise from this process as they perceive themselves as Hong Kong and/or Filipino people.

Teachers' Respect towards Students' Cultural Diversity

In sociocultural terms, teachers have been considered as students' significant others in schools. Within the institutional hierarchy, teachers generally frame students' learning experiences, which forge social relationships and constitute power between teachers and students. The relationship between teachers and the ways in which students saw their ethnic identity was subtle. Although teachers' influences on the Filipino students seemed to be related to their academic outlook, the subtleties of teachers' influences on students' ethnic identity could be seen from the way students denied such an influence. For example, when asked about their teachers' influence on their ethnic background, most of the participants responded, "I don't think so". One reason for this could be that their cultural background was generally respected by the teachers:

They helped me accept it. They didn't help me... go against it or hide it. They just helped me accept it. They didn't mind that I was Filipino. They didn't discriminate me. They were just very fine with it. If people accept you, it's like you accept yourself. They help me in that way. (Helena)

Helena felt accepted by her teachers and that she could be herself when she was around them. She did not feel obliged to change herself in terms of who she was culturally.

Most students felt that their teachers influenced more their attitude towards studies more, as Trisha put it: "I guess that they have changed my behaviour especially. I have to say like compared to – in addition to like my age and then my maturity, my teacher help me realise what's really important like priorities." Trisha learnt of the importance of setting priorities in life, which to her was a personal development (i.e., "age" and "maturity"). When asked about her teachers' influence on her, she mentioned nothing about her ethnic identity.

In underscoring teachers' influence on academic aspirations, instead of ethnic identity, Isabel shared a typical scenario in her Chinese lessons:

Sometimes they influence the way I see myself sometimes. How I see myself? Because when in Chinese lesson and then the teacher usually in Chinese lesson, it's usually a must to speak in Chinese. And then a teacher has to speak in Chinese. But then sometimes a teacher will have to speak in English because we're really — we're having a lot of difficulty. And then I feel like I should — I feel like I'm not good that's why the teacher has to speak in English to us to teach us. So yeah, I need to work on my Chinese.

Notably, while acknowledging the question of her identity, Isabel instead took note of an inherent power imposed upon her and her peers in Chinese lessons, that it was a “must” to use Chinese language. She then described her challenge in Chinese, pointing out her “difficulty” in speaking the language. Her teacher, however, had to adapt to the students’ Chinese language ability and would occasionally switch to English. From Isabel’s account here, the teacher renegotiated his power to communicate with the students in English, a language they understood better, instead of strictly enforcing the rule to speak in Cantonese. In witnessing such a change in the teacher’s medium of instruction, Isabel felt a sense of inferiority (“I feel like I’m not good”) for not trying hard enough to learn Chinese.

Musicality

Identity is a juxtaposition of sameness and difference (Bamberg, 2011). In cultural terms, sameness (or “us”) draws attention to Filipino students’ interaction with their fellow Filipino peers in the school. Part of such interaction is their engagement in social practices. These practices, from a sociocultural standpoint, were not arbitrary; they were socially organised, which shaped students’ cultural positioning. If taken at face value, the practices can be perceived as mere interests. The practices that students engaged with reflected the commonality among the Filipino students that distinguished them from the other ethnic members in the school.

Playing music was significant to the Filipino students. Its relevance to the students only became clear as I went further with my observations. I initially glossed over music’s importance for them and naively thought of it as the students’ usual pastime in the school.

I was not sure if this was the first time seeing Filipinos playing guitar in their school. I was not very surprised at all, because as a Filipino myself, playing guitar is a very normal habit to me. I play it all the time. I see Filipinos playing guitar and singing all the time. (Field note B 11.26)

After my subsequent school visits and a conversation with Louisa, I realised that playing guitar was more than just a common activity for the Filipino students:

You’ve been to my classroom and you’ve seen my friends playing guitar. Yeah, I mean, usually when we’re the last people in the school, we’re the ones singing and then the rest of our friends wouldn’t be there. Like I guess because one thing also that’s because we’re not very close to the other people. I mean we talked to them during classes and when they’re around but when it’s after school or we have our own time, we don’t – there are, each ethnic minority background is on their own.

A few points can be made about Louisa's account. First, she drew my attention towards her peers who played guitar, an everyday practice I paid little attention to initially. Second, note her use of "we"; she was referring to her Filipino peers who played guitar and her reference to her non-Filipino peers as "other people". She distanced herself and her Filipino peers from "them" (non-Filipino peers) and went on highlighting "each ethnic minority background is on their own", signalling South Asian peers' participation in activities different from the Filipinos. Louisa evoked a sense of exclusivity, which denoted guitar playing as a unique social practice among Filipino students in the school. Louisa was not alone in highlighting this practice as it also emerged in my interviews with other Filipino students. Playing guitar's wider cultural significance can be elaborated through Rodrigo's example when I asked him to choose a set of images to represent himself.

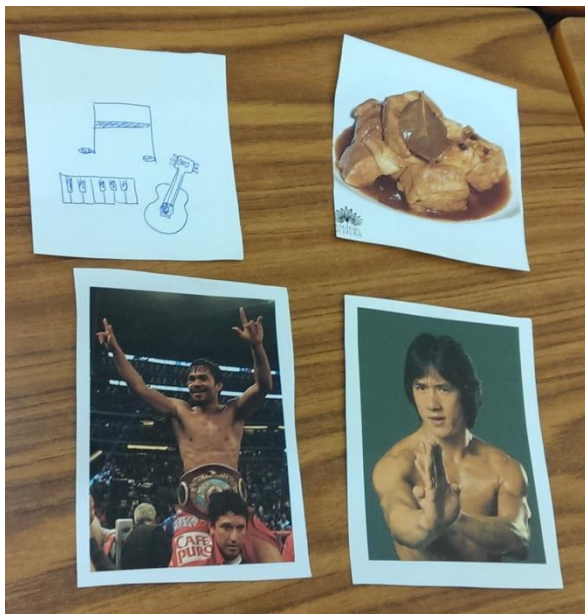


Figure 7.1. Rodrigo's self-pictroduction.

Aside from the cultural icons that represented the Philippines (pork stew and Manny Pacquiao) and Hong Kong (Jackie Chan), Rodrigo illustrated the first image with a 16th note, piano keys and guitar. He explained his choice as follows:

I wanted to show... draw this because I'm really into music. I feel like music is something that brings everyone together. This like actually reminds me of the time when I was in the Philippines before, and we were all just sitting around doing nothing, and then suddenly I think one of us, me and my sister, picked up a guitar and

started singing. And we all started singing together and it kind of brought this bigger bond with all of us, and I don't know. That's one of the best memories I've ever had." For Rodrigo, music was more than an interest. It was a social practice that brought "everyone together". Here, "everyone" referred to Filipinos that evoked Rodrigo's experience in the Philippines, where he and his sister started playing music spontaneously. This spontaneity, for him, meant that they were "just sitting around doing nothing", something unplanned for, but not without cultural significance, as he pointed out the "bigger bond with all of us". This "us" denoted the Filipino experience exclusive to Filipinos in general. Rodrigo turned to his relationship with his Filipino peers in the school:

I have to admit I can't really speak Tagalog that well, but I understand it. I'm not that fluent in it, but even though I'm not that fluent in Tagalog, I'm very familiar with Filipino music. And when my friends sing Tagalog songs, I don't really sing together with them, I just hum along with them, and at least that makes me feel like I'm part of them.

Although Rodrigo would not sing with his Filipino classmates because he could not speak Tagalog well, he would "hum" with them to associate himself with a common practice of his peers on grounds of his knowledge of Filipino songs. Strategically, Rodrigo displayed a way of establishing and maintaining a social relationship with his Filipino peers through music, regardless of his skill in it.

Broadly, music represented Filipino students in the school. Many of them thought that Filipino students were stereotypically seen as musically "talented", a frequent description I came across when asking students to describe something that would represent their commonality. Anthony explained what "talented" meant: "I can say the singing part, the musical background that we have. I think Filipinos compared to the others are more musical."

Anthony took ownership of their musical background by using "we", then followed by the word "others" – referring to South Asian peers. Here, Anthony distinguished himself and his peers from the rest of his non-Filipino peers to foreground Filipino students' inclination towards music. Consistently emerging from my interviews with other students was their view on themselves as active participants of singing, dancing and cheering events in their school. Carl, echoing Rodrigo's thought on music, associated music with being a Filipino:

Majority of the Filipinos here, they're more into music. All of us can get along in either singing, dancing or whatever kind of art there is here. Like music, basically music. Most Filipino has to have that something in music.

His use of “us”, referring to his Filipino peers was linked to “get along”, implying an important relational role of music in drawing them together as Filipinos. Carl ended his comment by reasserting their “something in music” – a commonality that Filipinos have. The link between social practice and social relationship can thus be foregrounded when a practice is sustained over a period of time and transcended into “a space for relationship building” (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011, p. 241). This consideration of space is significant as it foreshadows how social relationships take place in an actual context, such as the library corner of Class C. The library corner was approximately one-fourth of the classroom in size, located to the left of the classroom door. The space was decorated with a world map, a variety of student posters, nursery floor mat and Persian-like cushions. Along the corner of this space was a suite of bookcases full of English fiction and story books. Atop the middle bookcase posted a small banner “WE LOVE BOOKS!” One student recounted how she and her peers turned the library corner of their classroom into a place where they play music:

Because in our school... in the classroom we have a library, right? Last year we had it too but it was smaller. After school, we call it our *tambayan* place. Then mostly the people there are Filipinos. Then we bring with us a guitar. Then we sing whatever songs and start chatting. I think it's like that. We have a chill out place [Translated from Tagalog] (Trisha)

While the library corner was originally meant to be a space for reading, Trisha recalled how her peers designated the library as *tambayan* (translated as hangout place, usually a preferred or favoured one) for music playing beyond school hours. Like her other peers, Trisha stressed that “mostly the people there are Filipinos”, not her South Asian peers, and they brought a guitar with them. Note again the use of “we” (as Filipinos), suggesting the ownership of their singing and music playing activity. In turn, the library corner became a social space for a practice that not only united them together, but also a place where conversations with her Filipino peers began (“start chatting”) that effectively forged social relationships among the Filipinos in the class.

Guitar was not only a musical instrument that mediated Filipino students' relationship with one another in the school. It also symbolised a commonality of their inclination towards music, which played a fundamental role in sustaining friendship among Filipino students'

own ethnic circle in the school. Such a way of maintaining relationship with peers was not deliberate but ‘natural’. In effect, their musical inclination contributed to who they were as Filipinos in the school.

Ethnic Language

A relevant aspect to their social practice was my participants’ use of home language at Melange. The presence of a substantial number of Filipino students in the school presented an environment for students to use their home language, Tagalog, which had implications for their ethnic identity. Being able to communicate in the same language appeared to be another commonality significant to the students when I asked them to describe what Filipino students had in common, one response was “For most people, it’s language that they could interact with each other casually through Tagalog. And then most of the people in my class like the same things so it’s easier for them to cope with each other”. (Martin)

For Martin, a practice he observed among his classmates was their interaction in Tagalog. He described such interaction as “casual”. His use of the word “easier” suggested Tagalog was a more convenient avenue for students to communicate with other Filipino students. Isabel depicted students’ interaction in Tagalog in more detail:

I think they have the language that’s usually Tagalog. They have — they use slangs in Tagalog and only the Filipinos will get it. And then they’ll have their own jokes and they’re on kind of club, I don’t know. They just have — they just communicate with each other really, really well. And then they have — the slangs. It feels like when the Filipino — when I see the Filipinos and then immediately they’re already friends, the Filipinos. I don’t know. They’re immediately like especially for the guys. Like “Hey, tol. Like that.

In addition to using Tagalog, Isabel observed the use of slang and jokes among her peers and that “only the Filipinos will get it”. More so, she pointed out the rapport that Filipinos would immediately form when meeting each other and would become “already friends”, represented by informal greetings among males such as “Hey tol” (it means ‘hey brother’ in English). Implicitly, the slang, jokes and specific greetings were clearly a form of in-group practice comprehensible and exclusive to the Filipino students only. This practice is echoed by Trisha who commented that students did things that were “very Filipino”:

I don’t know, like the joke is very Filipino. Like the way we address like wssst wssst (lip-pointing), parang like that and the stuff that we eat. Because of that, we talk about – it’s usually just an inside thing for Filipinos and actually it’s like behaviour ones,

not much; it's just usually like the greeting like 'tol, that's really Filipino for us but I think Indians have that too. Yeah, that's pretty much it.

Starting with a reference to Filipino jokes, Trisha exemplified a cultural gesture associated with Filipinos — lip-pointing, instead of using fingers to point at a person or an object. She also mentioned the types of food they ate. Significantly, Trisha used the phrase “an inside thing” to indicate the “behaviour” unique among Filipinos and acknowledged that equivalent forms of communication exist in other ethnic groups. Communication in such ways strongly suggests exclusivity within an ethnic group that outsiders may not be able to grasp. It was a social practice that implicitly excluded others, though not necessarily in a discriminatory fashion. It was merely engaging in practices that cannot be accessed by outsiders who do not possess a particular cultural knowledge.

Overall, the two subthemes of musicality and ethnic language exemplify the key social practices that Filipino students engaged with in their own ethnic circle. The activities they participated in and the way they communicated with one another triggered a consciousness suggestive of their ethnic background that was exclusively experienced by Filipinos; one that only the Filipinos could “get”. Within the bounds of this study—concerning solely between students’ schooling and ethnic identity—playing music and communicating in home language were ingredients to maintaining and even strengthening their cultural positioning as Filipinos.

Dominant I-positions

Four patterns emerged from the analysis of students’ use of and perceptions of their ethnic labels. These ethnic labels signified their identification towards a cultural group, represented as I-positions. The first I-position was occupied by those who were born and raised in Hong Kong but did not have a good command of Chinese. The second group was mainly claimed by those who were born in the Philippines and migrated to Hong Kong. The third, and the smallest group, was those who were born and raised in Hong Kong and who had good command of Chinese. The last group was a constructed position characterised by the Filipino students’ relationship with their other ethnic minority peers (see Table 7.1).

I-as-Filipino-but-born-and-raised-in-Hong-Kong

Students in this group identified themselves as Filipinos while emphasising the fact that they were born and raised in Hong Kong. Students’ responses, such as Carl’s: “I’m Filipino, but I was born and raised here (Hong Kong)” typified this cultural position. They labelled themselves as Filipinos, though found it important to inform people of their Hong

Kong background, having not grown up in the Philippines. The students claimed both Filipino and Hong Kong positions, indicating their orientation towards both Filipino and Hong Kong Chinese cultures. Two positions are presented here: their views about being a Filipino and their views about being a Hong Kong person.

In terms of being a Filipino, most participants felt positively about it. A key word that repeated itself in their accounts was “proud”. Being proud as a Filipino had a wider cultural meaning to them, as exemplified by Gabrielle:

I’m proud of it actually. I mean, I don’t mind if other people go, “Oh you’re just proud.” Because they think that Filipinos are proud all the time. Yeah, so I’m like, I’m not like that. I don’t know, I’m just proud basically like Philippines is a fun country and the people there are talented and fun, so I like being a Filipino naman. It doesn’t change how – it’s just you basically like how people look at you, what do you do.

Gabrielle expressed her inclination towards Filipino culture by associating a positive experience towards the country and people. She represented these experiences by underscoring the “talent” of Filipinos. Upon clarification, “talent” referred to musical talent associated with the Filipinos in the school. This response was typical among the participants.

On their position as a Hong Kong person, they generally showed an ambivalent orientation towards it. This ambivalence was characterised by the students’ recognition of a Hong Kong identity but not subscribing to its broader “ethnic meaning” (Enneli, Modood & Bradley, 2005, cited in Aveling & Gillespie, 2008, p. 211). When I asked Louisa what she felt about being a Hong Kong person, she confided to me:

I don’t know, like I just never thought of it that way, like I’m a Hong Kong-er. I just – well, I’m okay, okay I’m in another country, I grew up and I was born and raised here, that’s it and I have an Hong Kong ID, but nothing about being a Hong Kong-er was significant to me. Just that I knew that I was Filipino and that’s it.

For Louisa, her position as a Hong Kong person was nothing more than her possession of a Hong Kong identity card. Such form of documentation emerged as a marker for her to claim a Hong Kong cultural position. Many others in this group, while not making reference to their identification documents, would simply associate their identity with their birthplace, in this case Hong Kong, and familiarity with the city’s locality. Such a familiarity indicated their preference for living in Hong Kong as they felt “like home here and I’m comfortable here (Hong Kong)” (Rodrigo). However, these markers’ were described purely in a technical sense

– being born and raised and enjoying a right of abode in Hong Kong, not gravitating towards the Chinese cultural position in broader sense.

Students' reluctance in identifying themselves as Hong Kong Chinese was associated with their limited proficiency and exposure in both language and culture. Vicky recounted that "it's gonna be weird for me if I call myself Chinese, because I don't know how to speak Chinese fluently, and I don't really like Chinese culture." Proficiency in Chinese language and fondness towards Chinese culture acted as qualifiers for a Chinese position, which, however, was rejected by Vicky. From my interviews with other students, command in Chinese language appeared to be a strong qualifier for a Chinese (or at least a local) identity. Without such a skill, no way could the students assert a Chinese cultural position, as Trisha put it: "I can't speak Chinese and it's so horrible. Every one – Mr Cruz especially is always emphasising how important it is to actually speak Chinese and we can't go anywhere I guess in the university if we can't speak Chinese, if we can't interact at least."

The inability to communicate in Chinese disadvantaged her academically and socially – not being able to fulfil Chinese language admission requirements for higher education and interact with local Chinese people. Although other factors may come into play, students' limited Chinese proficiency limited their socialisation with the local Chinese culture, which stood to be a significant clue on why the students resisted a Chinese identity in a deeper sense, one that had wider ethnic meaning to them. To borrow Syjuco's (2010, p. 221) words in this context, this I-position is like "between what we have and what we want but can't get" as Filipinos in the school.

I-as-Filipino-just-Filipino

Another emerging I-position was "I-as-Filipino-just-Filipino". Students claiming this position were typically born and/or raised in the Philippines and later migrated to Hong Kong in their early teen years. This background meant that the students received education in the Philippines prior to their arrival in the multiethnic school. Basically, this position resembles the previous position in several ways, except students' stronger inclination towards Filipino culture. They occupied both Filipino and Hong Kong positions, except with an apparent weaker Hong Kong position. When asked about their ethnic background, a typical response was "Usually, I just say I'm Filipino", Isabel insisted: "Yeah, I just say I'm Filipino". Upon further probe, she explained:

Because if I tell them I'm Chinese, and then suddenly, who knows, they suddenly speak in Chinese with me, and I'm not really good in Chinese. But then if I tell them

I'm in Filipino and they speak Tagalog, then I can easily speak in Tagalog with them as well.

Of interest here was Isabel's part Chinese background. Her father was a Hong Kong Chinese, though she chose to assert her cultural position as a Filipino out of convenience. To her, it was a logical response to avoid conversations in Cantonese that she could not easily understand. Similarly, when asked about Anthony's past schooling background, he said "Everything was in the Philippines" until Primary 5. Thus, judging from their previous background in the Philippines, their strong attachment to a Filipino identity position can be understood.

The above point can also be seen in Anthony's remark: "I think I'm kind of proud of that. I am proud of that being a Filipino and I'm not really sure why but I feel like I – if I'm going to be of any other ethnic group, I think I'll attach to the Philippines". He slightly hesitated at first as he was "kind of proud" of his Filipino background. Though, at the end, he reasserted a Filipino position. His hesitance is noteworthy, because it indicates his reservation towards fully asserting a Filipino position. This position became evident when I asked where he felt at home: "I consider both as my home because I've had like good times in the Philippines and I also have many good times here and I feel like they both are the same. I have my likes here in Hong Kong and I have my likes in the Philippines".

Compared to his remark earlier, this response somewhat contradicted his sole attachment "to the Philippines" as his response to his ethnic label would suggest. Anthony's remark now indicated his inclination towards both cultures owing to his favourable experiences in both places. Although generally he would identify himself as Filipino, one can see that his Hong Kong life had at least some place in his identity. His migration to Hong Kong at a relatively young age (compared to Isabel), had exposed him to the Hong Kong environment more. This momentary negotiation in his cultural positioning may have contributed to his hesitance in his earlier remark about his Filipino position.

Following this vein from a developmental viewpoint, one can assume that moving to Hong Kong in later years offered a different picture of students' cultural positioning. They asserted more position more strongly than the other, which can be exemplified by Nick's situation. Nick moved to Hong Kong from the Philippines when he was about 15. Like his other peers in this I-position, Nick would only say "I'm from the Philippines", nothing else. Even though his peers would occasionally mistake him as Singaporean or Chinese because of his looks, he explained: "I mean, I'm not ashamed of telling people I'm Filipino [Translated

from Tagalog].” From a textual level, he affirmed a strong Filipino position. But for a fuller portrait of this position, I asked him about his thoughts when he first moved to Hong Kong. He then quickly described his culture shock in school:

I was really surprised. In terms of Math, English, it’s serious. In my first tests and quizzes, I failed, I can’t really do them. I was really surprised. Maybe my parents told me I experienced culture shock because it took how many years before we came back here and we don’t even know how the education system works here [Translated from Tagalog].

Nick’s vehement disavowal of a Hong Kong position was linked to his challenges in coping with his studies rather than Hong Kong life in general, highlighting how he fared poorly in his initial tests. Upon evoking his parents’ voice and their limited knowledge of the Hong Kong education system, he was reminded of his culture shock that prevented him from adopting a Hong Kong position. Nowhere did he mention he felt local, except moving to Hong Kong. Compared to Isabel and Anthony, Nick expressed a stronger resistance towards a Hong Kong position. Many of the Filipino students claimed, almost equally, a strong Filipino position, shown by the semantic representation of just being a Filipino with a more vivid picture of shifts in cultural positions between being a Filipino and Hong Kong person.

I-as-Filipino living in Hong Kong

Another emerging I-position was the I-as-Filipino-living-in-Hong-Kong. Only two students represented this position. Its distinctiveness is noteworthy, however, as they negotiated both Philippine and Hong Kong positions in complex ways. Sarah identified herself as a “Filipino living in Hong Kong”. Such a label represents a demarcation that set her apart from the Filipino domestic helpers in Hong Kong. Filipinos who are presently and temporarily out of the country to fulfil an overseas work contract for a specific length of time or who are presently at home on vacation but still has an existing contract to work abroad. They may be “land-based” or “sea-based” workers (Quinto & Perez, 2004, p. 3). Though in this context, Sarah referred to OFW as domestic helpers in Hong Kong who typically have day off on Sundays and earning only a minimum of HKD4,110 (AUD 615) per month.

Filipinos living here, I think, is more of like the residents. Like for example the [New Generation-ers] and our families. But for Hong Kong Filipinos, I guess it’s all of us as a whole, but it also targets more to the workers, the OFWs. Yeah it also targets more to that. Even if like us, residents, for example go to Central on a Sunday, it’s obvious.

I think locals can distinguish that it's obvious we are different from the OFWs, by how the way we act and how we look.

Sarah differentiated herself by emphasising her permanent resident status in Hong Kong. Her fellow church youth group members (New Generation-ers—a pseudonym for a Hong Kong parish based English-speaking catholic youth group) and family were typically second generation Filipinos whose parents worked in professional domains (e.g., engineering firms, entertainment industry, etc.). For her, the label 'Hong Kong Filipino' represents all Filipinos in Hong Kong including domestic helpers. When recalling her experience in Central (Hong Kong's Central business district where domestic helpers gather on Sundays), Sarah highlighted how they – as residents – acted differently from domestic helpers: “Maybe like OFWs, they like to scream when they see Filipino celebrities. But for us we just go like “Oh can I take picture?” something like that”. In other words, Sarah thought domestic helpers were conspicuous and residents were more subdued in their reaction when encountering a Filipino celebrity in Hong Kong.

Helena presented a similar view with a more noticeable tension – “I do think twice” when asked about her ethnic background. Like Sarah, Helena held strong views towards domestic helpers who explicitly commented on their social status in Hong Kong.

If they ask me, I'll just say I'm Filipino. I do think twice. I don't wanna say it 'cause people have this stereotypical – if they're talking about Filipinos, they'll think we're poor, most of our people are working as maids and all that. So I think twice, should I say it? But I just say it 'cause it doesn't – I don't really get affected of other people's opinion 'cause they wouldn't know me.

The tension stemmed from a generalised “they” who portrayed Filipinos as maids, generally considered as individuals of lower class. This negative portrayal of Filipinos prevented Helena from claiming a Filipino position, asking rhetorically “should I say it?” Meanwhile, she renegotiated her position by realising how people's views should not affect her, which was a gesture of her gravitation towards Filipino position.

Another distinctive aspect of this I-position is their proficiency in Chinese language. Similar to the first I-position, Chinese language proficiency functioned as a marker that set Sarah and Helena apart from the students claiming the previous two I-positions. Sarah and Helena's Chinese language ability was a pathway for them to simultaneously claim a “local” position alongside their Filipino one. Such a position presented itself as I asked her to describe her challenges living in Hong Kong, which she indirectly denied:

Maybe other people find it challenging, like, because they don't know how to speak Chinese, but because I know how to speak and I understand and because of my looks, like I look Chinese sometimes, I don't feel discouraged or anything. When I'm around something, I'm familiar with places because I see myself as a local also.

The generalised “other people” in this quote referred to her peers in her current school who had little command in Chinese. For Sarah, her peers were ‘others’ because they were unlike her who could speak Chinese, while highlighting her resemblance of Chinese features (by her own standards) and familiarity with Hong Kong’s locality. These factors together, especially her Chinese language ability, had impelled a shift towards a Hong Kong position.

Helena’s discourse assumed a form of othering, which emerged as she spoke of her Chinese language learning experience. Before illustrating this point, it is crucial to highlight Sarah and Helena’s previous education in homogenous Chinese primary schools. This meant they possessed a higher standard in Chinese language compared to most of their peers. Helena attributed her relatively high Chinese language standard to her motivation in learning Chinese, while relaying her peers’ lukewarm interest in the language.

It’s like they can’t pronounce it very clear maybe or they just copy. They’re not motivated. It’s different. Like I’m willing to learn it ‘cause I understand that you have to take it, either you take it or you just don’t learn anything. So most of them, some of my friends, they don’t wanna learn it. I don’t know.

Helena encapsulated her peers’ struggle in Chinese language subject with the word “different” to underline her motivation in learning Chinese. For her, a consequence of not learning the language is “you just don’t learn anything”. In asserting her position further, she observed that her peers “only use it [Chinese] in school. But I think they should just use it in every day basis.” Her point took on significance in a few ways. First, it reflected a situation in the school, wherein students generally used Chinese in Chinese lessons and casual conversations with teachers only. Second, Helena’s comment implied a plea that her peers should use Chinese beyond the school grounds to improve their language, as opposed to those who felt “horrible” like some students in ‘I-as-Filipino-but-born-and-raised-in-Hong-Kong’ – those who struggled with Chinese language. Together, these forms of othering, alongside asserting a cultural position, demarcated Filipino students who were proficient and not proficient in Chinese.

I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong

Rather an implicit position, I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong is an overarching representation of a meso level identity as non-Chinese students in Hong Kong, constructed out of their schooling experience. This I-position is implicit because it was not overt in the students' own discourse (e.g., very few would label themselves "I am an ethnic minority" when asked directly about their ethnic background). Evident in this representation was the transcendence over ethnic borders, in which ethnic differences did not matter to the students. At times, Filipino students' views on their relationship with South Asian students pointed to the barely perceptible borders between their ethnic differences, depicting a peaceful coexistence among people of different nations working together as if race did not matter at all.

The Filipino students appreciated the presence of their non-Filipino peers in the school. For most of them, studying with different ethnic minorities was one of their best schooling experiences. When I asked them why, their reasons were invariably along this line:

The students, because they're fun to be with and they're not – they're like mixed race, they're not like all of them were like all the same, not like my primary school, some – just like that, not like all Chinese. But here in the school, we were like all mixed, like all different countries like here in the school there are Filipino, Indian just like that.

(Arnel)

Arnel first used the word "fun" to describe the favourable experience he had in the school. This favourable experience was linked to the presence of his multiethnic peers. He compared his former school (that was predominantly Chinese) and present school (that was predominantly people from "different countries) and highlighted that different ethnic groups were put together in the school. In addition to Filipino students' schooling experience together with other ethnic groups, they learned the cultural practices of their peers. Carl's best experience in the school was "[k]nowing a lot of different cultures". When asked to give an example, he said:

I've never been introduced to Biryani, it's Pakistani, until I was Form 1. I only knew about Chinese food and Filipino food. And coming here kind of showed me more culture -- I didn't even know what sushi was until I was Form 1. So I guess that benefits me like in terms of culture, I think. I know more about their culture and tradition and a little bit more about their religion.

Initially, Carl admitted his ignorance towards his peers' delicacies. But because of the food they brought to the school and constant exposure to such practice, Carl developed a heightened awareness and appreciation towards his non-Filipino peers' culture.

On certain occasions, the heightened awareness had cultivated respect among the Filipino students. This "respect" was prompted by the constant interactions with their non-Filipino peers in school, which fostered a higher level of cultural awareness through learning how to put themselves in the position of their South Asian peers. Kevin defined "respect" in this way:

Respect first especially where you have to imagine what if you're not a Filipino. What if you were Indian? What if you're Nepali? What if you're a Pakistani? How would you feel if people from a different country would go out and disrespect you in a way? So what we all want for each other is respect. And if that respect is there for one another, then something else can come like for example love and friendship and bond like that's how it can sum up all together. That's how diversity becomes so successful. Kevin pictured some adverse scenarios of his South Asian peers where they would feel disrespected. Kevin's momentary shift in cultural positioning was evident in his rhetorical questions: "What if you were Indian? What if you're Nepali? What if you're a Pakistani?" In plain terms, he placed himself in the shoes of others. Regardless of ethnic background, for Kevin, "respect" was something that drew "all" of them together in the school. Here, Kevin bypassed the Filipino social practices to forge a relationship with his South Asian peers. For him, "love" and "friendship" enabled the "bond" between him and his other schoolmates. In Kevin's view, respecting others' cultural background was the catalyst to make "diversity" work in the school. This diversity can be characterised by their reluctance to discriminate against their peers:

I don't discriminate them 'cause it's like there's nothing to discriminate about. I mean we're just the same. I have cousins that are Indian, they're half. I can get along with either culture. Like there's nothing discriminating about them. It's just same. (Helena)

Helena's dismissal of discriminatory behaviours was apparent; she simply saw no reason to behave in this way. Although her respect was partly prompted by her half-Indian relatives in addition to her exposure to South Asian students, Helena's emphasis on "we're just the same" was significant. Unlike my participants' social practice in music, where the ethnic difference between Filipinos and their South Asian peers were pronounced, here Helena circumvented their ethnic difference to show her harmonious relationship with her South Asian peers. For

Gabrielle, studying in a harmonious environment meant that they were less likely to be an object of racial discrimination:

Since there's a lot of ethnic minorities, we won't get that discriminated in this school. So [...] you're one school and everyone here is from different [country] – and people here are really friendly so it's a welcoming feeling at this school. And they don't choose who to teach, the teachers. They generally teach I think everybody. They're not biased, like if there's Chinese here, they're going to spend more time on this person. No, I guess they give equal opportunity.

Gabrielle's reference to the school's multiethnic student body seemed to be the key factor that mitigated racial discrimination in the school. In pointing out how everyone was culturally different – note how she associated herself with the label “ethnic minorities” using the pronoun “we”, Gabrielle had a “welcoming feeling” in the school. Equally, she noted the teachers' emphasis on equality, implying that the teachers would put equal amount of effort in their work no matter where the students were from.

An effect of studying in such environment was explicit in Anthony's description: “even though there are other ethnic minorities, I also feel accepted by them”, which highlighted how well regarded he was by his South Asian peers. This form of acceptance represented the general impression of my other participants towards their South Asian peers and it was not difficult for them to rationalise so, as Martin put it: “we want to fit in with not only Filipino students but [also] the rest of the class”. In this case, Martin's inclination was not only to establish relationships with his Filipino peers but also with his South Asian peers. While Martin did not claim a South Asian position, establishing such a relationship beyond his own ethnic background muffled the ‘us-them’ ethnic distinction, explaining that: “Because I've been surrounded by people with multiple ethnic backgrounds like myself.” Instead of highlighting his Filipino background, he equated himself with his peers who were of “multiple ethnic backgrounds” through the simile “*like myself*” (my emphasis). Thus, for Martin and even for his other peers, their difference was their sameness. No doubt, the Filipino students were ethnically different from their other peers, but they were the same because they were housed together in a school, a sameness brought together by cultural awareness, respect, harmonious relationship, and ultimately, by sharing the same educational experience as ethnic minorities.

The characteristics of these four I-positions are summarised in Table 7.1. Although the students showed no hesitation of recognising themselves as Filipinos, there were

important differences in the ways in which they claimed their cultural positions. The first three I-positions were characteristically distinguishable based on the students' respective personal biography. In other words, the claims of these I-positions tended to be patterned against their place of birth, prior education and language abilities. As an example, students who were born and partly raised in the Philippines claimed a stronger Filipino position, represented by I-as-Filipino-just-Filipino. The fourth I-position represents a meta-position that the Filipino students subscribed. Regardless of their biographical differences, all Filipino students identified themselves as ethnic minorities. Meanwhile, these I-positions were highly mobile; the ways they intersected with the cultural processes in the school drew different responses in terms of they identified themselves as Filipino or Hong Kong people. The next section will elaborate on this aspect.

Table 7.1

Key Characteristics of Filipino Students' I-positions Student Participants

I-positions	Ethnic Identification	Place of Birth	Prior Education	Language Abilities
I-as-Filipino-but- born-and-raised-in-Hong-Kong	Identify with both Philippine and Hong Kong cultures but can clearly recount ambivalences	Mostly Hong Kong	Multiethnic kindergarten and primary schools	Tagalog: Generally mediocre English: Fluent Cantonese: Limited
I-as-Filipino-just-Filipino	Strongly identify with Filipino culture and initially expressed difficulty adapting to Hong Kong academic environment	Mostly Philippines	Multiethnic kindergarten and primary schools and/or; Philippine primary and/or schools	Tagalog: Fluent English: Fluent Cantonese: Limited
I-as-Filipino-living-in-Hong-Kong	Identify with both Philippine and Hong Kong cultures but would attach themselves to a local Hong Kong position owing to their Chinese language command	Hong Kong	Local Hong Kong Chinese primary secondary schools	Tagalog: Mediocre English: Fluent Cantonese: Fluent
I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong	Identify themselves as ethnic minorities in Hong Kong	(Claimed regardless of place of birth)	(Claimed regardless of prior education)	All

The Intersecting Points of Contextual Layers with I-positions

In describing Filipino students, one could discern that the students' identity positions were permeated by various schooling experiences in different contextual layers and sometimes beyond them. The question here is how their significant experiences in school contributed to their Filipino and/or local Hong Kong positions. In this section, I consider how the Filipino students' schooling experiences intersected their ethnic identity by focussing on students' key experiences: teachers' power, musical practices, language use and surpassing the ethnic borders through the integration of the sociocultural framework and I-positions.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the sociocultural perspective (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011) held that the relational distance between teachers and students is maintained by power relationships. Everyday practices, such as musical practices and language use, as they emerged as cultural tools, defined the ways students negotiate identities. It would, therefore, be important to consider how teachers contributed to the ethnic identity of the Filipino students by describing the tensions arising from the power relationship and the significant daily activities of the students that represented their ethnic identity.

Teachers' Power

In placing power into this picture, the teachers negotiated their teaching to promote equality and non-discriminatory practices. Students' general impressions of their teachers were that they respected students' cultural diversity. To underscore the relationship between teachers' presence and students' cultural positioning, it is important to draw attention to the ways in which "respect" took form in the school. From the Filipino students' viewpoint, they did not feel obliged to become a particular ethnic person or Chinese. This was, for instance, evident in Helena's remark: "They helped me accept it... They didn't mind I was Filipino". This way, teachers' respect for students did not cause any shifts in their cultural position, by letting them be who they were. In a broader sense, though implicitly, teachers' respect was linked to students' social practices, such as playing music and language use.

Playing music was not banned in the school. As long as it was done beyond the lessons, the teachers expressed no concern over such practice. Power was not exercised in this regard. Rather, the students realised their teachers were aware of their fondness towards music, a social practice that could be associated with their cultural position as Filipinos. It also fostered social relations as the Filipino students were known for music in the school. With regards to language use, the teachers, through the ethos of the institution, made no attempt to prohibit ethnic language use in the classes. This was remarkable as some other multiethnic schools were known to limit ethnic language use by explicitly enforcing the use of Chinese and English only (Connelly et al., 2013). Indirectly, the non-prohibition of ethnic language use in the school allowed the Filipino students to engage in social practices in a language more accessible to them, such as Filipino jokes and slang that only Filipinos could understand. The teachers thus did not intensify students' Filipino position directly, but they accomplished this by subtly providing students a space to engage in social practices that were culturally meaningful to them, which in part mediated the construction of the first three I-positions in the school.

Musical Practices

The intensification of the Filipino cultural position could be observed in their exclusive musical practices. Such exclusivity meant that playing music was uniquely and culturally meaningful to Filipino students. It was an in-group social practice. Filipino students' musicality, practised through singing and playing guitar, was integral to the way they negotiated a Filipino position. As discussed earlier, their musical practices were not a mere activity; their guitars were not simply music instruments. Together they promoted meaningful social practices. Mediated by an artefact (guitar), singing and playing music became a means for the students to establish relationship with their fellow Filipino peers, sharing a sense of "we-ness", and thus strengthening their Filipino position. This sense of 'we-ness' was characterised by their commonality as Filipinos in the school, which came to be a stereotype in that "Filipinos" were "more into music", as Carl put it, forming an in-group social practice. They saw musical activity as a way of maintaining their Filipino identity, a practice that turned guitar's material form into a binding force that drew them all together, forming particular social relations (as Filipinos) within the school.

On the other hand, the exclusivity of the in-group social practice, appeared to be a form of exclusion of other ethnic groups, though not in a discriminatory fashion. At times, their musical practices contradicted the fourth I-position, where the Filipinos thought they were the same as their other non-Filipino peers. Participating in musical activities was when ethnic difference mattered to the Filipino students, for example, when Louisa shared with me their interaction with their South Asian peers above: "we talked to them during classes and when they're around, but when it's after school or we have our own time, we don't – there are, each ethnic minority background is on their own". In this sense, the Filipino students did not equate themselves with other ethnic minority groups. They had their "own time" (denoting exclusivity) as Filipino students. There was no sense of "we-ness" as in the fourth I-position. It pointed to the palpable ethnic border that existed between the Filipinos and other ethnic groups in the school. Thus, in this particular musical practice, the Filipino students would step back to their respective Filipino I-positions – feeling more of a Filipino and less of an ethnic minority.

Language Use

Filipino students' language use in the school was related to their I-positions in several ways. First, their ethnic language (Tagalog) use was a common vehicle for the Filipino students to communicate with one another. Notably, although the Filipino students'

proficiency in Tagalog varied, speaking or hearing Tagalog in the school did not alienate those who could not speak Tagalog very well, typically those who claimed ‘I-as-Filipino-but-born-and-raised-in-Hong-Kong’. As I observed in my interviews with them, they would revert to what they call “Taglish” (a colloquial portmanteau of Tagalog and English) if they could not fully express themselves either in Tagalog or English. Being less fluent in Tagalog could weaken a Filipino position, but did not lead the students to disclaim it outright. In most cases, it did not prevent them from socialising with their Filipino peers. This notion was particularly evident in Rodrigo’s account above when he would hum along with his Filipino friends despite his limited Tagalog. Again, this remark reinforced the role of music in their social practice that did not deprive them of maintaining a Filipino position in the school regardless of their proficiency in Tagalog.

The second aspect is related to their Chinese language use. As shown in the I-positions above, Chinese language proficiency was a marker that distinguished particularly the ‘I-as-Filipino-but-born-and-raised-in-Hong-Kong’ and ‘I-as-Filipinos-living-in-Hong Kong’ positions. These positions’ construction can be traced via the institutional hierarchy. Within this hierarchy was the power constituted between teachers and students. This power manifested in students’ own accounts such as when Isabel felt that it was a “must” to use Chinese in Chinese lessons. In addition, similar encounters as such instigated emotional responses, such as Trisha’s thoughts on her Chinese language skills: “I can’t speak Chinese and it’s so horrible” which surfaced through Mr. Cruz’s (Trisha’s teacher) emphasis on being able to communicate in Chinese, according to Trisha. Otherwise, they “can’t go anywhere” to further their education in university. In students’ eyes, their teachers generally wanted them to fare better in their studies, particularly in their Chinese language learning. Perhaps, such an effort of the teachers was, in part, prompted by the school’s institutional ethos to provide an academic environment to facilitate students’ integration into the wider society as Hong Kong is mainly a Cantonese speaking city. Reminding students of their lack of opportunity for further education accentuated Filipino students’ struggle in Chinese language. Not knowing Chinese language well enough prevented a movement in I-position towards a local Hong Kong position, unlike those students who asserted a ‘I-as-Filipinos-living-in-Hong Kong’ position. This process implies that Chinese language was the entry ticket to a local Hong Kong position. This was remarkable in Isabel’s avoidance of the Chinese ethnic label above as she justified: “Because if I tell them I’m Chinese, and then suddenly, who knows, they suddenly speak in Chinese with me...”, a language she could not speak very well. To make

the ethnic demarcation clearer, Sarah and Helena (who occupied the ‘I-as-Filipinos-living-in-Hong Kong’ position), who were more fluent in Chinese, did not experience Isabel’s issue. Although Sarah and Helena would not subscribe to the Chinese ethnic label, they would see themselves as “locals”. From here, Isabel was set apart from such a position because of her limited Chinese language skills. Their expectations, though, implicitly marked those who could integrate better into the society (‘I-as-a-Filipino-living-in-Hong-Kong’) and those who felt challenged to integrate (‘I-as-a-Filipino-but-born-and-raised-in-Hong-Kong’ and ‘I-as-Filipino-just-Filipino’). This demarcation also came from Sarah and Helena who possessed Chinese language skills to claim a local position.

Surpassing Ethnic Borders

‘I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong’ reflected another level of social relations, representing the commonality of the Filipino and other ethnic minority students in the school as a whole. From a broad institutional viewpoint, the school allowed for socialisation with other ethnic minority students that fostered cross-ethnic group interactions. These interactions were characterised by the respectful and harmonious relationship among the students, cross-culturally between Filipinos and South Asians, and their teachers. The social practices of South Asian students had exposed Filipino students to different cultural practices (e.g., observing their peers eating Indian or Pakistani food), heightening their cultural awareness. Thus, the social relationship forged between the Filipino and South Asian students was sustained by a high degree of respect and by understanding the viewpoints and experiences of South Asian students, which was captured by Kevin’s rhetorical questions “What if you were Indian? What if you’re Nepali...?”

The student-teacher social relationship can be characterised by teachers’ emphasis on equality and respect for cultural diversity. These emphases meant that the students received the same level of support in a respectful and non-discriminatory way. To accomplish this, teachers negotiated their power to provide students an equitable academic environment and did not favour particular ethnic groups. An impact of this environment on Filipino students was clear from Gabrielle’s perspective: “they don’t choose who to teach, the teachers. They generally teach I think everybody. They’re not biased...” In part, the students witnessed how their teachers put into practice their school motto: Harmony in Diversity. Hence, institutional ethos as such underwrote the power, social practices, and relationships in the school that together formed harmonious social relations characterising the bond among all the students. Along with the school’s ethnic composition, the Filipino students would reflect on such social

relations in foregrounding a meso-level cultural position – not Filipino, not Chinese, not in-between, but an ethnic minority identity that mirrored the sameness they shared with their non-Filipino peers, which required surpassing one's ethnic borders.

Chapter Summary

The Filipino students represented diverse cultural positions not only because of their family and background, but more importantly, because of the cultural dynamics in their learning environment. Cultural positions emerge not only across wider institutional contexts, such as the interface between school and family. They are also shaped by the dynamics of social interactions within the cultural processes of the multiethnic environment of the institution. This chapter has particularly illustrated Filipino students' I-positions stemming from the sociocultural context of their multiethnic school. They maintained a Filipino position through musical practices and using their ethnic language in the school. The Filipino students negotiated their cultural positioning as local through the extent of their Chinese language skills.

In placing the participants in the wider institutional environment, they implicitly occupied an ethnic minority identity position. This is not to argue that musical practices, using home and/or Chinese language are prerequisites for a Filipino or local position. Factors pertaining to family, heritage, and upbringing in general are equally important in considering students' shifts in cultural positioning. Other factors related to the wider social environment were evident, such as Sarah and Helena's account about domestic helpers. Fully elaborating on these factors, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, the interview data point to the impact of Melange's institutional environment on the Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation, revealing not only in-between identities, but also the texture of identity negotiation at different contextual levels. As the following chapter illustrates further, the institutional environment of Melange provides cohesion to Filipino students' ethnic identity, yet such cohesion hinges on cultural divisions as the I-positions move across the sociocultural processes of the school.

CHAPTER 8: BEYOND BEING A FILIPINO

TRAVERSING THE CULTURAL BORDERS OF SCHOOLING?

In describing Filipino students' ethnic identity shifts in a multiethnic learning environment, Chapter 7 added empirical support to the idea that ethnic identity shifts are not monolithic, but are built around ethnic markers embedded in the social interactions at Melange. This chapter illustrates how pedagogical patterns in Classes A, B and C reflected Melange's sociocultural ethos and catered to their students' cultural diversity and learning needs, alongside the need to help them integrate into the wider society of Hong Kong whilst confined within a learning environment segregated from Chinese majority students. In addressing this phenomenon, this chapter is organised around the following three sub research questions:

1. What cultural tools are embedded in a Hong Kong multicultural school that promote shifts in ethnic identity?
2. What cultural tools are represented in the Chinese and English classes of a multiethnic secondary school that promote shifts in students' ethnic identity?
3. What cultural tools do Filipino students interact with that suggest continuity and discontinuity in ethnic identity?

The approach to these questions is premised on the idea that ethnic identity is actively shaped in parallel with the cultural processes of a learning environment. Hong Kong's wider multicultural climate is embedded within the tensions around the transitions of sovereignty transfer from the colonial period to current Chinese administration. This tension stemmed from the lack of EM's political participation in Hong Kong during the British colony, in part, due the EM's small population size (2 – 3%) in the 1950s (Baig, 2012). Even though Indian professionals were present in the administration of Hong Kong in that period, Baig added, they could no longer represent the interests of other EM groups, such as Nepalese and Pakistanis owing to the shifts in the ethnic composition of Hong Kong in the 1990s. On the other hand, the mounting discriminatory practices at the societal level had led to the rise of racial equality advocacy groups. Consequently, the prominence of these advocacy groups paved way for the establishment of the Racial Discrimination Ordinance as a result of discussions with the Legislative Council. Yet, today, this legalistic intervention still invites

debates as to whether it furthers the interests and welfare of EM individuals. In other words, despite the existence of multicultural communities in Hong Kong, the idea of being multicultural at a societal level does not seem to go beyond describing “the residence of people with different cultural backgrounds” (Law & Lee, 2012, p. 120). This way, multiculturalism is constructed in Hong Kong in a way that merely regards the existence of EM individuals without extensive policies to advance their educational welfare more fully apart from legal interventions and as Chinese language provision. Because of this, I would argue for further attention to the cultural nuances in multiethnic school settings, particularly on how learning institutions and teachers perceive the impact of broader educational provisions on their school-level policies and pedagogical position and the ways in which EM students engage in such a learning environment. While policy work is crucial in developing educational initiatives for EM students, it is equally important to consider how these initiatives implicitly position schools to educate EM students and how education associated with these initiatives position students to claim certain ethnic identities. Set against this cultural setting, this chapter aims to address how Filipino students negotiate their ethnic identity in school at different contextual levels. These dialogical frictions foreshadow the shifting cultural boundaries between Filipino and non-Filipino students, and between proficient and less proficient users of Chinese language in *Mélange*.

Sociocultural Ethos of Melange at Institutional Level

To make sense of Hong Kong’s schooling provisions for EM students, it is important to reiterate the absence of multicultural policy within the broader socio-political discourse (Jackson, 2013). Although anti-discrimination legal interventions protect the rights of EM individuals in Hong Kong (Kennedy, 2011), the absence of multicultural policy in Hong Kong means that the educational provision for EM students is not supported by equity agendas. Put differently, educational provisions for EM students in Hong Kong may not be seen as interventionist – support mechanisms that attempt to ensure EM students’ full participation in wider society. As illustrated in Chapter 2, Hong Kong privileges a support system that facilitates EM students’ Chinese language learning, which in broad sense operates within a monocultural framework (Connelly & Gube, 2013; Kennedy, 2011). *Mélange* acted in accord with the provisions set by the EDB, but not without tension when faced with the students’ cultural diversity. To understand how this tension unfolded within the institutional environment of *Mélange*, I shall highlight the school’s social order using Bernstein’s (1996) notions of classification and framing. Of note then is *Mélange*’s

implementation of the support mechanisms for EM students and the multicultural discourse within the school.

Multicultural School within a Monocultural Society

The fact that Melange received additional resources from the EDB meant that the school had been structurally distinguished from mainstream Chinese schools. A school was required to admit a minimum number of EM students to be eligible for EDB's suite of support measures. Although there was intention to integrate EM with local Chinese students at policy level, the current schooling arrangement itself demarcated the Chinese and non-Chinese, which in turn reinforced social distinctions between the two (Burkholder, 2013). At Melange, this social distinction was reinforced by a strong insulation between the two social categories at policy level. The demarcation between the Chinese and non-Chinese social groups was made salient because of the absence of explicit intervention to immerse EM students more fully with Chinese students. In turn, the socio-political arrangement of schooling system in Hong Kong made it difficult for the two groups to interact with each other.

The support measures were paralleled by the Chinese language curricula arrangements because this provision had been the EDB's emphasis in their support for EM students. Although support mechanisms were in place, it only appeared to be in the form of material resources for the school. It did not restrict the way Melange devised its educational initiatives for the students. Melange was accountable to EDB in the sense that they had to report its usage of the funding, but there were no explicit guidelines on how the school should use it. Melange had a free-hand on how it deployed the resources. The support guide in Chinese language contained no explicit curricular objectives on what the teachers should do. Instead, teachers were required to adapt the existing mainstream Chinese curriculum to design a school-based curriculum. This is consistent with the findings in other multiethnic schools in Hong Kong, where teachers were challenged by the Chinese language support guide's implicit curricular direction (Connelly et al., 2013).

In the face of students' linguistic proficiency in Chinese, Melange found it appropriate to arrange the Chinese curriculum into three distinct levels: CSL, ACSL and MC. This way, students were grouped into these classes by their academic standards in Chinese. This emphasis on academic standards in Chinese language was in line with a public exam preparation program hosted by The University of Hong Kong. As reported by Mr Fung, this university ran a Chinese language program to send its specialised teachers to conduct

remedial classes at schools to help EM students prepare for GCSE Chinese language examination. The classroom grouping was the link between the provisions of EDB and Melange, yet appeared to be another layer of classification, an insulation enabled by explicit grouping of students in Chinese language classes, not by ethnicity but by proficiency in the language. It seemed that this arrangement was to meet the needs of the students because of their linguistic diversity, while preparing them for the most suitable public exam they could sit to fulfil the language requirements of higher education.

To practise the ethos of “Harmony in Diversity”, Melange’s structural provision had gone beyond what the EDB prescribed with respect to the structural changes associated with the influx of EM students. This change became evident as the school recognised the need to teach EM students with a different pedagogical approach, and employed the Canadian teachers. For Mr Wong, the Canadian teachers helped Chinese teachers to be more accepting towards EM students. Consequently, the Chinese teachers developed a classroom management approach that emphasised fostering relationships with EM students. In effect, this change marked the weakening of insulation between Chinese teachers and EM students, which allowed teachers to develop closer relationship with students through cultural responsiveness. At an institutional level, Melange sought to dissolve cultural barriers between teachers and EM students by treating all students equally. This equal treatment was taken as a way of recognising cultural diversity in Hong Kong schools, that is, to help EM students maintain their cultural background (Hue & Kennedy, 2014a) within a political context described above.

Another noteworthy point was the regulation of the ethnic population in Melange. The ethnic groupings were almost equally distributed. As seen in Chapter 5, the proportion of each major ethnic group in Melange was generally even. The balance in ethnic composition of students had avoided the “dominance of a particular culture”, according to a previous annual report of Melange. Whether this ethnic balance was a deliberate initiative or not, it seems to have had facilitated the school’s commitment to maintain cultural harmony. Implicitly, the ethnic balance in the student population has prevented students from feeling left out, although this view might not be applied to ethnic groups who fell into the Other category (i.e., Vietnamese, Korean, etc.) due to their small number not just in the school, but also in Hong Kong in general. Furthermore, this balance in the ethnic composition of Melange can be seen as a condition that weakened the insulation among ethnic groups. By weakening the boundaries, individuals were easily exposed to cultural practices of others,

thereby facilitating interethnic communication in the school. It follows, then, that if an ethnic group dominates disproportionately, this group would create a strong boundary that would render them less penetrable by other groups. As Umaña-Taylor (2004) predicted in her study on Latino students in U.S. context, if an individual is part of an ethnic majority student body in a school, ethnicity may not be apparent as a distinction marker. Since EM students are drawn together as EM students in designated schools in Hong Kong, students who come from the same ethnic background tended to favour the maintenance of their respective ethnic culture (Lai et al., 2014). These findings accordingly suggested that EM students tended to bond with their own ethnic group, thus fostering the maintenance of ethnic culture. The cultural mix of students in Melange added a layer to the construction of their ethnic identity with respect to students' perceptions of interethnic interactions.

To borrow Bernstein's (1996) concepts, the strong regulative discourse was realised by an internal classification – Melange's initiative to cultivate a learning environment that respects cultural diversity through its classroom arrangements. Structurally, this environment was visible in the arrangement of lower form classes, which were labelled as 2H, 2O, 2M and 2E instead of the usual A, B, C and D. Hong Kong has been known for its meritocratic schooling arrangement (Man & Ho, 2008). There has been an emphasis on ability grouping; students with similar academic performance study in the same class. Accordingly, schools adopting this arrangement would put high performing students in Class A, mid performing in B or C and the lowest in D. This arrangement was, however, non-existent in Melange's lower forms. The school used H-O-M-E to denote its cultural ethos, which implicitly masked the ability grouping of students. This class nomenclature reflected Melange's multicultural ethos. It showed that the multicultural ethos was realised not only through rules, but also the very environment of the school itself.

In response to the first sub research question (What cultural tools are embedded in a Hong Kong multicultural school that promote shifts in ethnic identity?), the multicultural ethos in Melange was not enabled by the socio-political discourse of Hong Kong because Hong Kong did not have a multicultural policy or a similar initiative. Melange had been markedly distinguished as a 'designated' school. This strong boundary, then, divided schools into two groups: it was for Chinese majority students and those designated for EM students. The Melange institutional response to this policy was twofold: one was to ensure that the educational support mechanisms were implemented to ensure students met the public examination criteria for higher education and the other was to ensure the learning needs of

EM students were met despite the cultural diversity. The way to address the cultural diversity within the school was to maintain weak ethnic boundaries among students and not segmenting students into different ethnic groups in the school. This was not necessarily a practice in other Hong Kong schools with EM students; streaming of ethnic groups was observed in some schools in the study of Connelly (2012). As such, the multicultural and desegregated environment played a critical role in the social relations of Melange. The weak ethnic boundaries facilitated interethnic group relations, which prevented a particular group dominating the school. The multicultural discourse in Melange did not emerge from Hong Kong's policy level. There was a strong multicultural discourse in the school nestled within a socio-political discourse that merely promoted Chinese language learning.

The cultural tools in the structural conditions of Melange, in part, intersected with the socio-political discourse of Hong Kong, as summarised in Table 8.1. These intersections are expressed in terms of policy and institutional planes – government and school level measures. These measures are approximated by the modality of insulation (Bernstein, 1996). Insulation is the propensity of classificatory principles. To reiterate the classification concept in Chapter 3, thicker insulation leads to distinct social categories, whereas thinner insulation leads to weaker social distinctions. Note that the following insulations are only an approximate of their tendencies to create ethnic boundaries as expressed in the effects column in the below table. They are not actual measurements of impact of the government and school level measures on the ethnic boundaries among social groups. In highlighting the effects of these measures, however, one can be brought closer to recognising the links of these support measures with the social fabric at school level, which opens up further clues on how social relations that undergirded the ways in which Filipino students negotiated their ethnic identity at classroom level in Melange.

Table 8.1

Dominant Cultural Tools in Melange's Institutional Discourse

Plane	Modality	Measures	Effects
Policy	Insulation ↓	Anti-discrimination law with no explicit promotion of multicultural policy	Protects EM at legal level only. Does not necessarily promote EM's full participation (i.e., educational measures that promote equity) and locals' cultural awareness (i.e., the need to maintain and value cultural background) in the wider society. Ethnic boundaries remain in socio-political discourse.
Policy	Insulation ↑	Support mechanisms with emphasis on Chinese language acquisition provided to schools with a visible number of EM students	Solidifies ethnic boundaries between Chinese and EM in Hong Kong's educational discourse (i.e., Chinese speaking vs. non-Chinese speaking)
Institutional	Insulation ↑	Streamed Chinese language lessons to ensure students' participation in suitable Chinese language exam to fulfil higher education entrance requirements	Solidifies boundaries between competent and novice users of Chinese language instead of ethnicity
Institutional	Insulation ↓	Maintenance of student ethnic composition	Weakens ethnic boundaries among ethnic groups as no one dominates
Institutional	Insulation ↓	Active promotion of cultural harmony within schooling discourse	Weakens ethnic boundaries through classroom structures in that 'everybody is the same' in the school

Pedagogy and Multicultural ethos in Chinese and English Language lessons

Recognising these effects of the educational support measures on the classroom fabric of multiethnic schools is crucial because these support measures were premised on the language deficit of EM students (Kennedy, 2012). This rationale, thus, explained the lack of multicultural initiatives in Hong Kong:

Another way of valuing the contribution of ethnic minorities is through a commitment to multiculturalism and multicultural policy. This is entirely lacking in Hong Kong so that support for ethnic minority students has been pursued within an integrationist framework that regards all members of society as being the same. This has implications for the way the school curriculum is viewed. (Kennedy, 2012, p. 7)

Although Kennedy's consideration pointed to the ramification of the government's integrationist approach on school curriculum, I would add that this consideration has implications on the broader institutional environment of multiethnic schools in Hong Kong. To this end, the links between Melange's sociocultural ethos and its classrooms can be discerned when cultural tools enable and shape the sociocultural processes of institutions. This analysis addresses the sociocultural emphasis of understanding ethnic identity negotiation in a given context. Embedded in these processes is instructional discourse that generates the "trained capacities and lifestyles" (Hunter, cited in Singh, 2002, p. 5) in a particular context, or the transmission of skills and their relation to each other (Daniels, 2012). Transmission emerges as a cultural tool that is "imbued with power and authority" (Wertsch, 1998, p. 66). A question here is how Melange's sociocultural ethos had been passed on to students, or the ways in which "public moral practice, values, beliefs and attitudes, principles of conduct, character and manner" (Daniels, 2001, p. 138) were transmitted to students. Bernstein's (1996, p. 27) notion of framing provided a focus on the control over the communicative aspects of pedagogy through 1) selection of content, 2) sequencing, 3) pacing, 4) criteria and 5) control over the social base. Bernstein originally used the word "communication" instead of "content". Here, following Hoadley's (2006) interpretation of Bernstein's framework, I deliberately use the word "content" to reflect the focus on what is communicated to students out of the curricular content. The cultural tools described in the previous section, such as the streaming practices and culturally harmonious ethos, were evident in the streamed Chinese (Class A) and, Form 2 and 6 English language classes (Classes B and C) observed. The incorporation of Bernstein's concepts sought to go beyond dichotomous values (strong vs. weak) to understand how class activities were negotiated in classrooms having in mind the learning needs of the students.

Given these theoretical considerations, one can recognise that the teachers in Melange did not respond to the broader provisions monolithically. As shown in Chapter 6, there were tensions in Classes A, B and C on the ways in which the teachers responded to the broader educational provisions in Hong Kong. The responses are summarised in Table 8.2 (in the

effect column) using Bernstein's (1996) notions of selection of content, sequencing, pacing, criteria and control over the social base as elaborated in Chapter 3. The analysis brought to the surface the classroom dynamics with regards to the pedagogical approaches and their implications on the social relationships between teachers and students. Whereas Chee (2012) found that Hong Kong teachers tended to ascribe cultural difference as something inherent to the behavioural problems of SA students (e.g., breaking school rules), this study highlighted the fact that teachers' response to EM students could also reflect on their pedagogical choices. The teachers seemed to create their teaching environment not only based on the broader educational support measures, but also on the cultural characteristics of EM students. This point is elaborated in the next section.

Table 8.2

Instructional Discourse in Classes A, B and C

	Class A		Class B		Class C	
	Support Measures	Effect	Support Measures	Effect	Support Measures	Effect
Selection	Based on a school-based curriculum designed to prepare students for public exam	Examination content made explicit with no activities deviating from the curriculum	Based on mainstream English curriculum and materials selected by the teacher	Curriculum content and learning activities beyond it were clearly articulated to students	Based on mainstream English curriculum and materials selected by the teacher	Exams were emphasised during test reviews. Meanwhile, social issues relating to the learning materials were emphasised.
Sequencing	Teacher controls the sequencing with a focus on lecturing		Teacher controls the sequencing with a focus on lecturing		Teacher controls the sequencing but can be dominated by discussions on issues beyond exams	
Pacing	Assessment activities interrupted due to students' struggle over the assessment content	Assessment activities were negotiated in response to students' queries	Highly controlled by the teacher with little interruption	Communicates an explicit and high academic expectation	Can be less controlled during discussions, but other activities were controlled by the teacher	Communicates an explicit and high academic expectation with emphasis on moral values
Criteria	The teacher evaluated students' performance on the spot during quizzes		Quizzes and exercises were always evaluated explicitly with instructions on avoiding grammatical errors, often with expectations on students to perform better next time		Test items were always evaluated explicitly with instructions on avoiding grammatical errors, often with expectations on students to perform better next time	
Control over the social base	Can be informal when students struggle with assessment tasks	Teacher-student relationship gap lessened	Formality sustained through signalling of punishment	Teacher-student relationship gap maintained	Formality sustained through signalling of punishment	Teacher-student relationship gap maintained

Classification, Framing and Ethnic Boundaries

The concepts of classification and framing have important implications for how pedagogical elements and their “inner logic” (Hoadley, 2006, p. 31) are transmitted to students. As argued in Chapter 2, this top down approach is necessary in examining what constitutes a context in which particular ethnic identities are negotiated. In sociocultural terms, classification and framing help reveal how teachers convey knowledge and employ power, or cultural tools, at classroom level through pedagogical practices. By linking teachers’ pedagogical practices to shifts in the institutional and socio-political context of Hong Kong’s educational support system for EM students, one can glimpse the malleability of classroom spaces where teachers negotiate their teaching in accordance with the curriculum objectives, and recognise the learning characteristics of EM students associated with their cultural diversity. These classroom spaces, imbued with cultural tools associated with pedagogical practices, were grounds where EM students negotiated their ethnic identity.

Melange’s institutional practices interacted with classroom level practices in several ways. Class A, an ACSL class, was enabled by the school’s provision of Immersion Chinese, supported by the funds from the EDB. As described in Chapter 5, IC was a school-based curriculum that was adapted from the broader Chinese language curricular framework of Hong Kong. It was meant to prepare EM students for the GCEAL Chinese examination. Although the teaching activities in Class A centred highly on the public exam, the analysis presented in Chapter 6 showed how its assessment tasks were negotiated because of EM students’ apparent struggles in the face of the tasks’ content. At one level, the message had been made clear to students on what they needed to prepare for the examinations. Simultaneously, this message had met with challenges in which students frequently beckoned the teacher for assistance in the assessment exercises.

Classes B and C, more generally, followed the mainstream English curriculum without adaptation. The teacher maintained the flow of teaching and assessment activities. Coupled with his high academic expectations, the teacher made explicit the performance required of the students whether it was in-class assessment or the public examination. Curricular objectives and academic expectation were made clear to the students, but the teacher taught materials beyond the curriculum. The inclusion of teaching materials beyond the textbooks and examination curriculum testifies to the ways in which the teacher contested the curriculum. The reason was that he felt that the existing English curriculum was designed for ethnic Chinese rather than EM students. Critically, this move was, in part, motivated by

the teacher's recognition of the students' different learning needs in English in the sense that EM students were generally stronger in English language. More broadly, this recognition reflected and implicitly affirmed a prevailing identity that EM students were better English language learners compared to Chinese language.

In Bernstein's (1996) terms, Class A seemed to operate within a strong classification of the content in which the class drew upon specifically designed Chinese language content for the EM students and a weak framing in which the teacher allowed for flexibility for students to negotiate the lesson activities. This weak framing was achieved by the teacher's effort to relax the power relations between him and the students instead of strictly enforcing the assessment activities. In practice, that means explicit instruction with some leeway to slow down pacing of the content or lesson activities, so that the students could catch up with the content. Classes B and C seemed to operate within a strong classification of the content in which the teacher had strong control over his teaching. Framing was, in contrast, strong. The teacher strongly maintained the pace of the lesson activities with very little room for students to change them. Although the lessons provided space for students to interact with another, they seemed to be well controlled and managed by the teacher. The analysis of these three classes is not to evaluate the pedagogy, but to open up a starting point to consider how the teaching environment shaped the social relations in these classrooms. This changed sociocultural condition, where ethnic identity was partly negotiated, cannot be bypassed because they partly hinted how ethnic boundaries were maintained across policy and individual levels.

The academic expectations were not surprising as Hong Kong has characteristically been examination oriented partly due to a Confucian ideology that undergirded the curriculum reform – political contestation at macro and micro levels (Kennedy et al., 2006). Implicitly, what comes with this orientation is an expectation to be competent enough in Chinese. On the other hand, this academic expectation had been negotiated divergently owing to EM students' cultural diversity (Hue & Kennedy, 2012, 2014b). The teacher in Class A felt that it was realistic to have only a reasonable expectation on students' Chinese language performance as the language was EM students' second or third language. In Classes B and C, the teacher felt that it was appropriate to include materials beyond the examination and existing syllabi as they were not fully suitable for the students as he perceived it.

The analysis implied how Melange's pedagogical practices reinforced ethnic boundaries at classroom level. There was no overt racialised interaction that appeared to have

threatened the students' cultural background (i.e., words, mannerisms or actions that might be perceived as racist or culturally insensitive). Although there were references to ethnicities of the students in Classes B and C, these interactions did not pose ostensible impact on Filipino students' ethnic identities judging from their reaction to the teacher and their accounts described in Chapter 7. In this sense, educational provisions in the classrooms did not distinguish students based on their ethnicity.

On the other hand, the grouping in Chinese classes was based on language proficiency. From a structural standpoint, the streaming system highlighted a competency-based identity: EM students with better command in Chinese study MC and those with less command go to CSL classes. This scenario, then, appeared to be a two-faced Janus. One was that it implicitly cultivated an environment that could mark students' ability in integrating into Hong Kong society as Chinese language had been long been valued as a key to integration (Gao, 2011; Li & Chuk, 2015). This environment tacitly maintained an ethnic boundary. The streaming arrangement, however, seemed to be the best possible channel to cater to the diverse language needs of the students.

The expectation of the need to learn Chinese was made explicit to learners at institutional and classroom levels. Simultaneously, the teachers displayed conscious efforts to ensure that the students would learn best in their given environment by altering their teaching appropriately, a practice consistent with Melange's institutional environment that promoted cultural harmony. For Rose (2004), this form of negotiation in teaching, which relaxed the pacing of curriculum, is one way of ensuring all students benefit from the class. It minimised the chances of excluding students with lower command in Chinese language. More broadly, the practice echoes Hue and Kennedy's (2012) finding that teachers reworked their conceptions of cultural diversity as a way of valuing students' cultural background.

As such, there was an explicit expectation to acquire Chinese language at institutional level, but its pedagogical context appears to be the level when this expectation was negotiated. As part of the broader the public examination requirements, there is an understanding that Chinese needs to be learned so that students could meet the entrance requirement for university and, ultimately, integrate in the wider society. An implication of this situation for the dialogical self would be a thrust towards a more Hong Kong position. When the teaching was negotiated, an act conceived as a way of respecting students' cultural diversity, it implicitly created an environment where the students felt they could be themselves. Put differently, Melange promoted what Daniels, Creese, Hey and Leonard (2004, p. 128) called

“a discourse of difference and uniqueness and self-confidence”, an ethos that reflected the teachers’ effort to support students’ identity development. In parallel with this point are the accounts of the Filipino students that implied an inclination towards the culturally diverse environment of the school. Because of this culturally non-threatening environment, the social relations in the school seemed to be conducive to the maintenance of the students’ ethnic identity. If this tendency in the cultural climate of Melange is taken into account from a dialogical self perspective, one may assume that the school ethos promoted dialogical movements towards students’ own ethnic positioning (i.e., being more of themselves as Filipinos). Of attention here is the ways in which the social relations in Melange contributed to the movements in cultural positioning, which is elaborated in the next section.

Continuity and Discontinuity in I-positions: A Filipino Response

At Melange, the Filipino students associated their ethnic identity with their peer network in different ways of ethnic identity negotiation as illustrated in Chapter 7. This study provided an empirical glimpse into the sociocultural processes at different contextual levels, where (dis-)continuities of cultural positioning became salient. The school ethnic composition was found to have an influence on ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, 2004), which opened up considerations on the role of the school in mediating ethnic identity negotiation. Narratives associated with I-positions are, seen from a sociocultural view as articulated in Chapter 3, social representations of how individuals identify with particular cultural settings, relationships, relations and practices (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011). DST provides a way to chart how these positions are entangled in multicultural settings, thus exposing the tensions associated with the ethnic identity of minority individuals.

Against this conceptual backdrop, Melange’s ethnic composition enabled a form of social relations, in which students negotiated ethnic identities in relation to their peer networks. Phinney (1990) proposed that ethnic identity is only meaningful in culturally heterogeneous settings (i.e., when at least two distinct ethnic groups are in contact over time) compared to homogenous ones. This idea is consistent with modern dialogical conceptions that see the cultural boundaries constituted between self and others (Hermans, 2001a). At Melange, Filipino students established different cultural positioning in relation to the different layers of their peer networks, in which boundaries emerged and dissolved inter-ethnically. The structure of the school and its interface with the dialogical self can be traced through the narratives of individuals. For instance, the ways in which the Filipino students talked about the bond they formed by playing music together.

Shifting Cultural Boundaries: When Being a Filipino Matters at School

Broadly, social contact in Melange enabled the movements in dialogical self of the Filipino students. Cultural tools bear mediating functions that “organize and constrain the meaning systems that emerge from dialogical relationships” (Hermans, 2001a, p. 262). Collective voices were enabled by cultural tools at different contextual layers, forming dialogical relationships, such as the ways the Filipino students associated their experiences with different peer groups and teachers. The contours of these dialogical relationships were partly conditioned by the students’ length of stay in Hong Kong, historical trajectory of Chinese language learning. Since schools are “sociocultural entry points” (Awokoya, 2012, p. 259) of individuals, they play a significant role on the shifts in the cultural positioning of EM students. The four I-positions are elastic categories, which can be seen in the dialogical movements of the cultural positioning of the Filipino students. Thus, it is important to stress that they are not necessarily fixed categories. These I-positions bear characteristics that rendered them permeable, as represented in Figure 8.1.

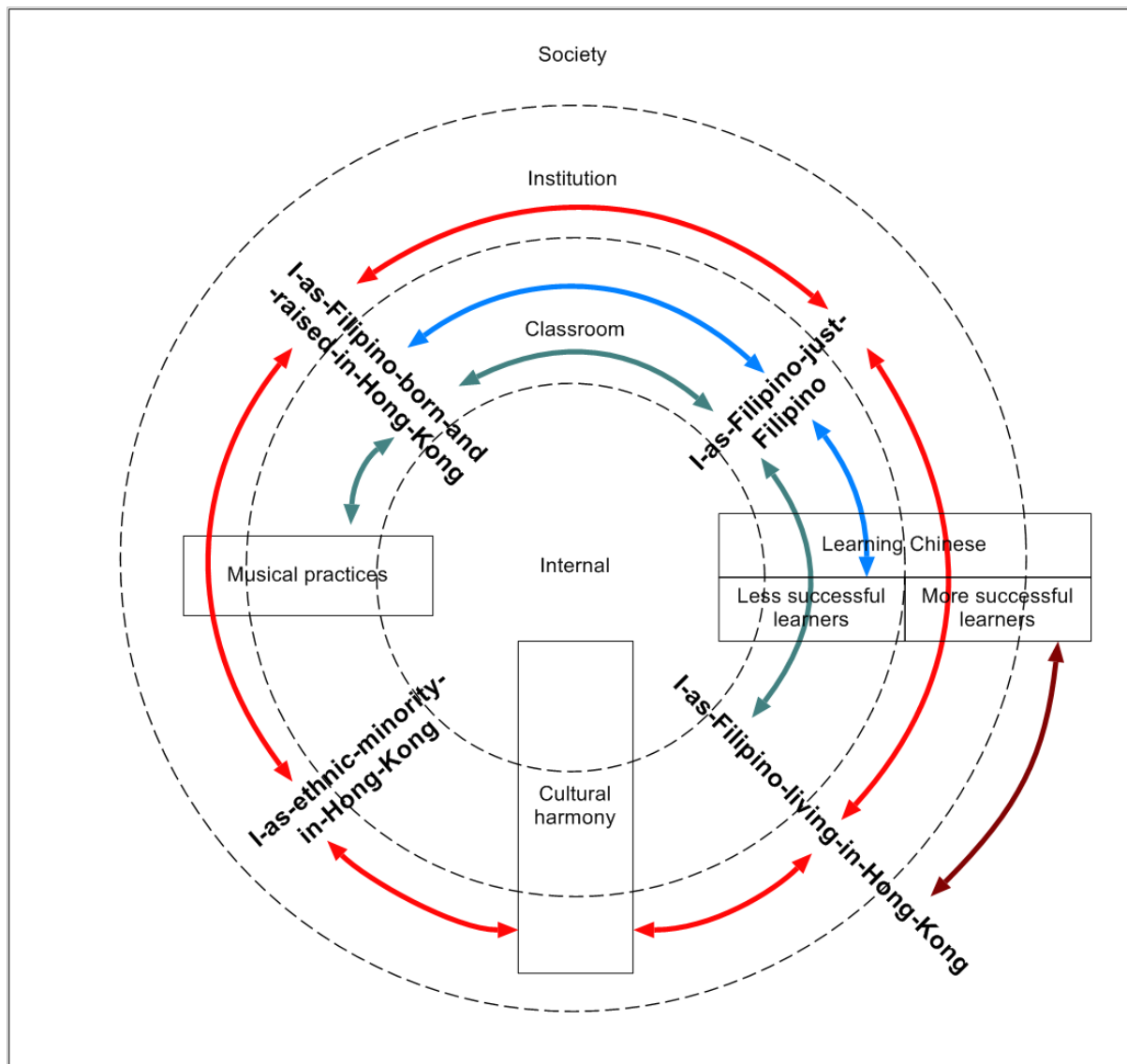


Figure 8.1. Interrelationship among different I-positions of Filipino students at Melange.

Figure 8.1 can be described as follows:

- **I-as-Filipino-but-born-and-raised-in-Hong-Kong:** Despite the attachment towards and residence status in Hong Kong, this particular group of Filipino students contested the Hong Kong position by rationalising it with their inability to use Chinese language well enough (as represented by the blue arrows). It foregrounded a dialogical disagreement on a Hong Kong position represented a conflicting voice, where ethnic boundary became visible (Hermans, 2012). The continuity in the Hong Kong position was barely maintained.
- **I-as-Filipino-just-Filipino:** Aside from the inability to speak Chinese language well (as represented by the blue arrows), the dialogical friction here was predisposed by

the length of time they spent in the Philippines that solidified a Filipino position. This voice appeared to be overpowering them, thus suppressing the Hong Kong position. The lack of inclination towards a Hong Kong position represented a strong boundary between Filipino and Hong Kong positions, which highlighted a dialogical friction. The continuity in the Hong Kong position was weakly maintained.

- **I-as-Filipino-living-in-Hong-Kong:** Students asserting this position had better access to a Hong Kong position due to their Chinese language proficiency compared to those students who did not speak the language very well (as represented by the maroon arrows). Their command in Chinese distinguished them from their school peers. Here, the boundary was present, not so much between being a local Hong Kong person and Filipino, but between being Filipino who could speak Cantonese and those who could not. The continuity in the Hong Kong position was strongly maintained and may be in a stronger position to integrate into Hong Kong.

Among this three I-positions are the social practices (e.g., music) that drew them together as Filipino as represented by the teal arrows that connect these positions.

- **I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong:** The Filipino students attributed this non-threatening environment to Melange wherein they felt less discriminated because they were all EM. As such, this meso-level position was mediated by Melange's strong multicultural emphasis (as represented by the red arrows). Ethnic boundaries were weak at this level because the students could conveniently associate themselves with their peers, regardless of their ethnic background. The continuity in the meta-EM position was maintained across all Filipino students.

An important principle to stress with regards to dialogical self is the simultaneous representation of conflicting or even contradictory accounts of ethnic identity. This idea takes into account the constant remaking of self as one enters a social environment, which foregrounds the non-static and dynamic nature of identity. Hermans (2013, p. 84) argued that: the dialogical self functions as a “part-whole”: as a “society of mind” with tensions, conflicts, and oppositions as intrinsic features of a (healthy functioning) self; and, at the same time, as participating in society at large, with similar tensions, conflicts, and oppositions.

This argument of Hermans has relevance in the context of Melange. The social condition in Melange and the wider Hong Kong society had subjected students to a host of “power games” (Hermans, 2013, p. 85) that provoked tensions in the ethnic identity of the Filipino students as they attempted to integrate into the wider environment of Hong Kong, while feeling culturally unthreatened within Melange. As demonstrated in this study, the Filipino students simultaneously claimed multiple cultural positions as they engaged in the discourse of each contextual layer in Melange without necessarily negating one position because of another stronger position. For example, those who ascertained the I-as-Filipino-living-in-Hong-Kong position did not claim a lesser Filipino identity at least within the school. Crucially, an analytical feature of DST is not about identifying what positions are being claimed, but, more importantly, how they are claimed that constitute the ethnic continuity and discontinuity of individuals – cultural resources that characterise the tensions in accepting, maintaining and rejecting particular cultural positions. If this consideration of the simultaneous presence of ethnic continuity and discontinuity is plausible, then it would be not be difficult to recognise the ethnic boundaries that the Filipino students sought to maintain and dissolve at times. This was the Filipino students engaged in social practices that brought them together as Filipinos and, at a broader level, together as ethnic minorities.

Togetherness as Filipinos

The students together claimed a Filipino position. None of them denied their ethnicity as Filipinos, unlike some students’ objection towards the Hong Kong position. One might ask: what marked them as Filipinos in Melange? A convenient claim would be that they were all Filipinos ‘by blood’. In determining the social meaning of the Filipino ethnic label in the context of Melange, however, it is important to discuss the interrelationship among the cultural positioning, social practices and social relations. Of importance here was the peer network of the Filipino students. Studies in Western contexts on minority individuals have long established the crucial role of peer networks on ethnic identity (e.g., Guerrero et al., 2010; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2001; Rutland et al., 2012). This body of literature can be complemented by this study depicting how peer networks are at play when negotiating ethnic identity in multiethnic school contexts.

In keeping in mind the peer relations that existed within the institutional structure of Melange, Filipino students’ cultural positioning is multilayered. The multifaceted and dynamic feature of cultural positioning rested upon the “implicit patterned practices that were

not necessarily visible” (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011, p. 232). These practices occurred at ethnicity (within Filipino) and pan-ethnicity (across all EM from the view of the Filipino students) levels. The characteristics of Filipinos in Melange (ethnicity level) can be considered in terms of their social practices – playing music and using ethnic language. These social practices appeared to be in-group practices of the Filipinos. A consideration here, as Hermans (2012, p. 12) pointed out, is that:

Depending on the ways people position others and themselves, individuals and groups can receive the space to express themselves from their own original point of view and become involved in an interchange that stimulates a learning process at both sides.

The process in the specific situation in Melange underscored not teacher-student relationship, but student-student (peer) relationships that represented a drive towards a Filipino position; a way of learning to be and a way of making sense of being a Filipino.

For example, playing guitar was a visible activity among the Filipino students in Melange. A less visible aspect of it was its uniting feature in the sense that this practice brought together the Filipinos as a specific cultural group. The phenomenon developed a form of social relations among the Filipinos. Trimillos (1986) documented how early Filipino migrants performed folk music and participated in musical ensembles in the U.S. as a form of cultural expression and a way to “maintain some part of Philippine heritage overseas” (p. 12). Although my participants may not necessarily reflect the same forms of musical genres and practices, playing music emerged as a practice that forged a social contact among Filipinos in Melange. Carl’s remark that Filipinos “can get along in either singing, dancing or whatever kind of art there is here” can be seen as a way of invoking a collective experience, a social practice shared among Filipino students.

Chapter 7 also illustrated how the use of Tagalog among Filipino students in Melange was commonplace in Melange. The language, in other words, was a form of social currency among Filipino students. The role of ethnic language use in ethnic identity negotiation was not surprising given that it was a means to maintain relationships within students’ own ethnic peer network (Phinney et al., 2001). This was more the situation of students claiming an I-as-Filipino-just-Filipino position who identified themselves more strongly as Filipinos and who tended to be more fluent in Tagalog. Speaking Tagalog was, therefore, a channel to identify with Filipino culture, which echoed the findings of Tuason, Taylor, Rollings, Harris and Martin (2007) in the American context. However, for my participants, speaking Tagalog (regardless of their proficiency) was more than a way of communicating with fellow Filipinos

and playing music in Melange. As shown in Chapter 7, it also conjured up a social practice among the Filipino students themselves.

These findings depicted not only a social practice among the students, but also a dialogical process where the individual position merged with the collective. This collective experience mirrored a sociocultural process in the school. It was a dialogical interchange with a social practice that formed social relations amongst Filipino students, thus forming a collective voice that Filipino students tended to latch onto. Such interweaving of voices, in turn, became a cultural resource that maintained a Filipino position in the school.

Maintaining a Filipino position, however, created ethnic boundaries. According to Barth (1998), ethnic boundaries are not about the cultural practices per se, but also the social boundary that characterises a particular social group. This social boundary carried criteria that of membership of an ethnic group, such as speaking Tagalog and playing music. Essentially, group membership is given to those who are “playing the same game” (Barth, 1998, p. 15) in a social setting; those who do not “play the game” are ethnic others. At Melange, the Filipino students did not only assert their Filipino position by recounting their shared social practices. They did so also by actively defining the ethnic membership of those who practised the social transactions outlined above – playing music and speaking Tagalog. This social boundary, hence, became palpable when such practices were known as an “inside thing for Filipinos”, as Trisha put it.

From a DST perspective, the students confined the collective voices they evoked within the Filipino group (i.e., not relating their social practices with non-Filipino students in the school). The Filipino I-positions did not encompass voices from all ethnic groups in Melange; they were only extended to the in-group level. For example, Louisa’s observation that “we’re the ones singing and then the rest of our friends wouldn’t be there” and “each ethnic minority background is on their own” represented a sharpening boundary between the Filipinos and non-Filipino students. The non-Filipino students, in effect, became the out-group. Although this exclusionary act paralleled a ‘we-they’ distinction (Hermans, 2012), it did not denote any resentment or negative feelings towards the non-Filipino students. This was because there were times when ethnic boundaries were transcended, which I will describe in the following subsection.

Togetherness as Ethnic Minorities

Although the Filipino students’ account in the previous section pointed to the social transactions they maintained as a distinctive ethnic group, they also, at times, bypassed these

boundaries by emphasising how they were not different from their South Asian counterpart. In particular, the permeability of the ethnic boundaries was underscored by a phenomenon that Arnel succinctly articulated: "...in the school, we were like all mixed, like all different countries like here in the school there are Filipino[s], Indian[s] just like that". This social interaction he invoked allowed for the construction of what Hermans (2012) called the others-in-the-self position. This phenomenon paralleled the I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong position. It is worth stressing again that the Filipino students did not explicitly claim this position. Instead, it became a social representation of a collective identity they have embraced in the school.

At one level, this collective identity was foregrounded by social relations in the school in tandem with the polyphonous function of cultural positioning – the cohesiveness of between one voice and others. In other words, the Filipino students recognised they were "all different" (ethnically), yet they studied together "here in the school". Arnel's reference to "the school" highlighted the unity between the structure and agency in the dialogical self. The structure, or the institution (Melange), spoke to the Filipino students as a space of authoring (Holland et al., 1998), in which the interrelationship of the different voices was bounded by a specific social milieu that allowed for the gravitation towards particular forms of cultural position. In the context of Melange, this space was where the Filipino students encountered the many different ethnic others. The interchange of voices with these ethnic others converged as a result of social contact in the school.

This dialogical process refers to the meta-position (Hermans, 2013). It is an agentic function by which individuals reflect on "a larger array of perspectives" (p. 86). This meta-perspective in this study is confined within the schooling space, foregrounded by a set of guiding principles. One of these, as Gabrielle highlighted it, was the non-discriminatory environment of Melange ("we won't get that discriminated in this school"), a sociocultural ethos that the school had cultivated. The students' evocation of "the school" implied its role on identifying the shifts in cultural positioning. This collective voice surfaced as students recounted their general impressions of Melange, which to them, was one that cultivated a respectful and positive culturally diverse environment. This discourse was consistent with the data that illustrated Melange's institutional and classroom environments. Viewing this dialogical activity using Hermans' lexicon, Melange appeared to be a ground, a spatial meta-position, where the students evoked experiences in relation to their peers and teachers, or "promoter in the temporal organization of the self" (p. 87) in the school.

The students recalled not just their peers who made possible their Filipino and EM identity positions, but also their teachers who they thought had provided them a respectful and non-threatening environment. In agreement with her peers, Helena felt that “there’s nothing to discriminate about. I mean we’re just the same”. She considered her position by rejecting the idea of discriminating (other-ing) against her peers, testifying to the blurring of ethnic boundaries between her and non-Filipino peers as she equated the ‘I’ with ‘we’, claiming that they, despite the difference between Filipinos and non-Filipinos, were “just the same” as EM. Overall, the temporal organisation of the dialogical self of Filipino students can be seen in the way they made sense of a ‘we-ness’ taken on at a meta-level. Such a positioning points to emerging evidence in which cultivating a culturally responsive environment can help break down cultural barriers in education settings, making possible in Melange a dialogical coalition of collective voices at a meta-level that, in the eyes of the Filipino students, had drawn together students from different ethnic backgrounds.

Momentary Fractures in Cultural Positioning: What Makes a Person Local?

“...ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language.”

(Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 59)

Anzaldúa captured the inseparable character of ethnicity and language. Because of this inextricable link, it is possible to examine the implications of Chinese language in terms of the Filipino students’ I-positions given that the use of Chinese language was embedded in the institutional discourse of Melange.

Since Chinese was the language of the majority in Hong Kong, the Filipino students recognised the need to learn Chinese language. This need can be traced in the dialogical accounts of the students. Being competent in one’s host language is often the key to integrating into the host culture. Aveling and Gillespie (2008), for example, demonstrated that being conversant in English helps affirm a British identity among Turkish immigrant young people. Speaking English in the community emerged as an “essentializing discourse” (p. 219). They also showed how this British position can be contested because others may not feel equally integrated owing to aspects beyond linguistic factors. Findings in this study show that the perception of the Filipino students about Chinese language also reveals some fractures in I-positions.

This dialogical fracture was observed in Chinese language classes when its importance emphasised in their classes and the othering among the Filipino students. As illustrated in Chapter 7, this othering occurred when those who were more proficient in

Chinese language distinguished themselves from those Filipinos who were less proficient in the language. Participants asserting an I-as-Filipino-living-in-Hong-Kong, who had a more advanced proficiency in Chinese, had a conduit to identify more with being a local. Sarah and Helena subscribed to this label owing to their knowledge of Chinese language. Although musical practices and speaking Tagalog have dialogically unified the students as Filipinos, Chinese language appeared to be the factor that caused “fragmentation”, as Hermans (2014) speculated, in cultural positioning. This fragmentation was observed when these students jumped out of their Filipino positions momentarily as Sarah described it: “Maybe other people find it challenging, like, because they don’t know how to speak Chinese”. While moving towards a local position, such a remark also paralleled a discourse that placed their Filipino peers who do not speak Chinese as others, people who cannot be locals.

This demarcation between proficient and less proficient Chinese language users is perhaps not surprising given the linguistic diversity of students in Melange. The students’ linguistic diversity went beyond the characterisation of their language proficiency. It also decentred the Filipino position, a phenomenon that created implicit segments among the Filipinos in the school. Accordingly, within this group were Filipinos who were more fluent in Chinese language and Filipinos who were less fluent in the language. Hermans (2014, p. 136) speculated that “The self is subjected to decentring movements when, for example, a person enters a new, confusing, or challenging learning situation or has to face disappointment, failure, or misfortune.” Indeed, more broadly, learning Chinese in Melange appeared to be a challenge to many Filipinos or even EM, a sentiment relayed by Trisha “I can’t speak Chinese and it’s so horrible.” This position was partly mediated by the instructional discourse as shown in Chapter 7. It appeared that the peer network mediated this being-non-local sentiment, which stood as a dialogical opposition that prevented those who could not speak Chinese from occupying a local position – I-as-Filipinos-living-in-Hong-Kong. Therefore, Chinese language created dichotomy not only between Hong Kong Chinese and EM, but also between EM who could and could not speak Chinese well. Chinese language became the means to access a collective voice that represented a Hong Kong identity, though without necessarily labelling themselves as Chinese.

Chapter Summary

The sociocultural ethos of cultural diversity in Melange contributed to the institutional and instructional discourse and how Filipino students responded to such an environment in negotiating their ethnic identity. This institutional discourse had emerged as a way for

teachers to reposition their pedagogical approach in face of their students' learning characteristics associated with their cultural diversity, while keeping in mind their role in facilitating students' integration to Hong Kong. In the culturally diverse space of Melange, Filipino students engaged with their teachers and peers, which enabled the negotiation of ethnic identity that defined them as Filipinos, as ethnic minorities, as locals and non-locals through the means of music and language. While music provided a common link to the Filipino students ethnically, learning Chinese language defined those who might qualify as a local person in Hong Kong. The dialogical lens helped overcome the simplistic dualism in ethnic identity negotiation in that one can only claim a position. The dialogical self, as argued throughout this study, assumes that individuals can occupy multiple positions in relation to the school's different contextual layers. In practice, this conception helped foreground cultural diversity within an ethnic group. The students were not only isolated from the mainstream education system as if they were alienated individuals, but they also remade a new sense of ethnic identity within the bounds of the school. This move beyond simplistic division between ethnic minority and majority supports inquiries into cultural diverse individuals who develop compounded identities. It provides an important basis for research into culturally diverse settings in Hong Kong. In the concluding chapter to follow, I will revisit the central question that has sustained this study, which seeks to stimulate possible research directions.

CHAPTER 9: A SEGUE TO MORE DIALOGUES

PROVOCATION IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

Introduction

“...unless we understand the ways in which possibilities for learning are enacted within institutions we will be frustrated in our attempts to really raise standards.”

(Daniels, 2001, p. 1)

The comment of Daniels is shared by many, if not all, educators who endeavour to improve the educational achievement of their students. I also suggest that Daniels’ line of thought is applicable to understanding the inner working of ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic schooling environments. It bears relevance to the promotion of culturally responsive learning environment in Hong Kong, particularly if educators and policymakers intend to raise the standards of the provisions for the facilitation of EM students’ “successful integration”. In this chapter, I engage with this call by highlighting the key tenets of this study to highlight their implications on the social condition of EM students in Hong Kong. Then, I discuss the implications of this study on theory, methodology, policy and practice. I also outline the limitations of the study and suggest future research directions.

Study Overview

This study explored the schooling discourse of a multiethnic school in Hong Kong, where Filipino students responded to their learning environment by negotiating different I-positions related to their ethnicity. I began by arguing for the need of such a study based on the paucity of research that specifically targets Filipino students among the broader EM group in Hong Kong. More broadly, the study responded to the need to explore ethnicity issues in education context in support of culturally responsive classroom initiatives. Also, the study is timely given the increasing representation of minority groups in Hong Kong’s education system, where the city’s socio-political patterns are substantially different from those of English-speaking cultures.

In illustrating the dynamics of ethnic identity in a multiethnic space, the overarching theoretical lens in this study integrated the constructs of Bernstein (1996), Vygotsky (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011) and Hermans (2001a, 2002, 2013). First, the Bernsteinian framework provided focus on the institutional and instructional discourse of a school setting. Second, the post-Vygotskian perspective on identity facilitated the theorisation of the ways in which individuals negotiate with cultural tools at different contextual layers of institutions.

Third, Hermans' DST offered an analytical glimpse into how individuals establish cultural positions without losing sight of its cultural dynamics. Taken together, these conceptions made explicit the meaning-making processes in institutional and instructional discourse that formed the social relations, relationships and practices as a basis for the negotiation of cultural positioning.

Using this integrated theoretical lens as a backdrop, I explored by reviewing institutional documents, observing classes and interviewing the principal, two teachers and 17 Filipino students. I analysed the data using a three-level content and thematic analysis to first determine the key institutional measures for EM students and how they manifested at classroom levels. I thematically analysed the accounts of the Filipino students to uncover the dominant I-positions related to their Filipino identity.

The analyses made visible the contrasting discourses, which promoted cultural harmony in Melange and negotiated a tension surrounding the broader educational initiatives at policy level that did not necessarily promote multiculturalism that tended to emphasise successful "integration". Against this backdrop, the teachers I observed and interviewed negotiated their pedagogies to suit the learning needs of their students, which in effect recognised the students' cultural diversity. Such a negotiation was characterised by the need to facilitate students' learning of Chinese to ensure that they received the necessary examination results so that they could meet the admission requirements for higher education. In English classes, the negotiation of pedagogy included the inclusion of additional curricular materials as the teacher felt that the existing curriculum was designed for local Chinese students only.

The theorisation of students' ethnic identity reminds us that individuals negotiate cultural position at different contextual layers of a school. From the Filipino students' viewpoint, the four I-positions characterised the multidirectional moves of the dialogical self as they made sense of being a Filipino and Hong Kong people at Melange. The four I-positions were differentiated by the Filipino students' sociocultural backgrounds in terms of their length of stay in Hong Kong. The positions were also constructed based on the use of ethnic language, musical practices and Chinese language knowledge, which simultaneously marked the permeability and opacity of cultural borders existing within the social relations (peer networks) of the school. For the Filipino students, speaking Tagalog and playing music drew them together as Filipinos, which facilitated their social relationship exclusively as an ethnic group. Such a sociocultural process provided a basis for the maintenance of their

Filipino position. In tandem with this process was a meta-discourse that drew all Melange students together regardless of ethnic background. This was when the Filipino students felt they were less discriminated against in the school and would respect students from other ethnic groups. This meta-position surfaced as the students unanimously asserted an I-as-ethnic-minority-position-in-Hong-Kong.

The consideration of the schooling discourse and I-positions argued throughout the study reflects a social currency that may be unique to schools that promote culturally harmonious learning environment in Hong Kong. This environment, in part, reflected the tensions around the school's attempt to bridge different societal expectations regarding the education of EM in Hong Kong: integration vs. valuing cultural diversity. In contrast to the research literature that tended to emphasise the cultural gaps and in-between identities that exist across family and host school contexts, this study drew out the multiple worlds, that is, the different social relationships and cultural practices that were ingrained in their school life undergirded by a social order that partly characterised who the students were ethnically as Filipinos and/or Hong Kong people. It appears that the negotiation of these identities brings not only new awareness on the ways in which Filipino students stood in between the cultural cleavages in the Hong Kong education system, but also on how it may enact a form social transaction and educational outcomes. These implications will be discussed in the following sections.

Fractured Identity, Multiethnic Space and Unintended Consequences

The significance of this study rests on its analysis that offered a microscopic view of not just Filipino students' ethnic identity shifts, but also the enactment of interactions and pedagogy within a multiethnic learning context. The ways students negotiated their ethnic identity, though it seemed as if a personal choice, might not purely be a personal choice. It seemed as if it was more of a choice made available to them with the attraction of cultural diversity within the schooling arrangement of the Hong Kong education system. The analysis of this study brings to the surface the fact that Filipino students did not only negotiate ethnic identity across home and school as if their ethnic culture was imported from elsewhere, but also within a school as result of the everyday cross-cultural interactions with their peers and teachers. These interactions did not occur haphazardly; they developed over time as the social interactions became intermeshed with the culturally harmonious ethos of Melange that had become ingrained in the students' daily sense-making about schooling. In providing a theoretical description that illuminated the social transaction between ethnic identity and

multiethnic learning environments, I argued that Melange was not simply a learning space of students from different ethnic groups, but a greenhouse that enabled a specific schooling culture to emerge. This specific culture represents a space where students developed ethnic identities that mirrored a fractured sense of belonging to their school and non-belonging to the wider society of Hong Kong. If the stratified educational arrangements for EM students remain, then will this fractured identity persist? Is this the kind of integration that Hong Kong seeks to foster?

Intended Integration and Unintended Exclusion?

In trying to shed light on the broader issues of EM students' education in Hong Kong, I do not wish to simplify their ethnic identity as a mere consequence of the schooling system. There are other interrelated factors—family and community—that contribute to EM students' ethnic identity development. Yet, by focussing on the relationship between ethnic identity and schooling environment itself, one can question the outside from within. That is to say, the interaction between individual and institutional factors seems to mirror the tensions surrounding the debates on the support system for EM students. Although the Chinese language issues associated with EM students are still evident in the findings of this study, I extend this prevailing argument to posit that these language issues are not simply a form of learning disadvantage and that appropriate curriculum and approaches to teaching (in Chinese language) would immediately alleviate the problems pertaining to EM students' integration. The language issues became anchors of the students' perception of being excluded from the mainstream society. This form of perceived exclusion was what partly characterised the ethnic identity negotiation of the Filipino students, a dialogical disagreement between the ethnic self and other. It represented the sense of being a Filipino but not being fully a Hong Kong person in the wider society.

A common means to integrate into a society is to master its mainstream language, such as English in many Western English-speaking nations. The drive to learn a mainstream language is, however, not without challenge. In the United States., for example, despite the history of the African Americans in the country, African American English continues to be marginalised. Such marginalisation is exacerbated by the drive in the education system to follow the Standard American English (Flores & Rosa, 2015). In this sense, African American English does not enjoy as prestigious a status as the Standard American English, as described in this comment, “the white listening subject often continues to hear linguistic markedness and deviancy regardless of how well language-minoritized students model

themselves after the white speaking subject” (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 152). Seemingly, this emphasis on linguistic markedness stood to be a persistent cultural boundary between black and white Americans. In effect, a wave of language education models that followed was patterned against “white speaking subjects who have mastered the empirical linguistic practices deemed appropriate for a school context” (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 157).

The case of Hong Kong is arguably much more complex as EM students learn Cantonese, English and Mandarin (depending on a school’s language provision) as their second, third or even fourth language if they speak an ethnic language. Irrespective of the language education models in Hong Kong, the drive to enhance EM students’ Chinese language proficiency has inherently positioned them as others, which echoed the tensions among the Filipino students who could not cope well with the Chinese language demands. For Flores and Rosa (2015), language demand in the United States is a discourse that expects “language-minoritized students to mimic the white speaking subject while ignoring the raciolinguistic ideologies that the white listening subject uses to position them as racial Others” (p. 155). From this standpoint, one can question whether the EDB’s aim to help EM students integrate cultivates the emulation of the linguistic repertoires of “yellow” (Chinese) speaking subjects. Put simply, do EM students need to speak and write like Hong Kong Chinese people to be fully considered as Hong Kong citizens or to be able to comfortably claim a Hong Kong identity? Addressing these questions would require one to delve into the language education models and their associated linguistic ideologies, which demands another strand of research beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting here the repercussions of the existing language education models on EM students’ ethnic identity, especially if language practices are seen as cultural tools that shape social practices and relationships in a school.

Beyond Struggles in Chinese Language

The idea that EM students struggle with Chinese language, as the literature and public discussion have portrayed it, has almost become banal, if not a self-fulfilling prophecy, in rationalising the social inequities of EM students in Hong Kong. Beyond this struggle, however, is the attention towards the fractured identity of EM students. This form of identity can be highlighted when language is viewed not only as a means of communication, but as a signification of a discourse of a wider cultural environment. As Flores and Rosa (2015) argued, “we should concern ourselves with the ways that Standard English is produced as a cultural emblem and how the circulation of that emblem perpetuates raciolinguistic

ideologies and thereby contributes to processes of social reproduction and societal stratification” (p. 152). Likewise, in Hong Kong, the focus of educational provisions for EM students should not be confined to the logistics, effectiveness and implementation of Chinese language education, but also on how their associated language practices shape and function as a cultural manifestation of the various relations in Hong Kong multiethnic schools and their social structures.

While much of the policy-making effort seems to have paid attention to developing EM students’ Chinese language, I showed how Filipino students negotiated their ethnic identity across different contextual layers of Melange through musical practices, and perceptions around Chinese language. These cultural flows within the school were marked by tensions between facilitating the students’ integration and providing a culturally harmonious environment. In other words, this focus on cultural flows is not so much about developing an effective curriculum or pedagogy for EM students. It is fundamentally about drawing policy-making initiatives towards the social environment they intend to create for EM students. This cultural sensitivity towards the policy-making practices in Hong Kong schools is timely as it challenges a status quo—an exclusivist spirit that tends to perpetuate in Hong Kong society in the wake of its economic development, wherein cultural diversity matters occupy only a small fraction of the government’s agenda (Erni & Leung, 2014). In pointing out these language and social issues in Hong Kong, one may sense the overtones of the commitment of these comments to social justice in exposing the social stratification that exists around the life of EM individuals. Although this focus on social justice has opened up many possibilities in exploring EM students’ lifeworld, an uncertainty remains as to whether such a focus closes other opportunities in understanding the wider cultural diversity issues in Hong Kong.

In addressing these cultural diversity issues, it is often convenient to adopt a blame-the-government stance. Simplistically, a prevailing assumption in this stance implies that the educational needs of EM individuals will be addressed in light of improved educational support structures. Yet, is an improved system all that EM students need? This question is posed to direct attention not towards systematic or institutional issues surrounding EM students’ schooling per se, but towards the discourse that their schooling system tends to perpetuate. Consider the following comment of Cunanan (2011):

Determining what ethnic minorities have to learn as opposed to what regular mainstream schools learn; or in this case, determine that ethnic minorities cannot

learn Chinese in contrast to what their Chinese counterparts can learn is an example of the ruling power creating a discourse to justify the norm (p. 211).

In this argument, Cunanan was explicit about how Hong Kong's education system has implicitly promoted a discourse that categorically defined EM students' learning trajectory. Whether this norm was deliberate or not on the government's part, Cunanan's argument seems to point to how such a discourse is extended beyond the physical structures of classrooms. In particular, this study complements the argument of Cunanan by illustrating the ways in which such a discourse penetrated the mind of the students, which evoked a fractured ethnic identity.

In bringing individual factors into the broader picture of EM education issues, it is possible to reiterate how the tensions in education system surfaced in the narratives of the students. As I have suggested throughout this thesis, this person-culture interaction is dynamic. The dynamic character of such social transaction in multiethnic schools was also captured by Cunanan (2011):

The "designated" ethnic minorities also embody a false sense of awareness that these are the best-suited schools for them because, (they are told) that other types of mainstream schools cannot offer them what they "need". The idea that ethnic minorities are not aware of what other alternatives are out there, makes them an example of the subjugated. (p. 211)

This observation of Cunanan still partly holds true in the context of this study. When I interviewed the Filipino students, they seemed convinced that Melange was their school choice, perhaps the best choice in the eyes of some. On the other hand, in contrast to Cunanan's latter point, they were not necessarily unaware of the option of pursuing their studies in mainstream Chinese schools. Some students, like Sarah and Helena, were educated in Chinese primary schools. Nevertheless, they still opted for Melange because of its multiculturally friendly environment. As the I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong position suggested, the Filipino students seemed to have found solace in Melange. In other words, this comfort zone characterised the students' gravitation towards a learning environment that respected their ethnic background by providing a non-threatening space for "different people" to co-exist.

There are a few possible explanations for this school choice. First, as Cunanan (2011) implied, it could be have been a schooling decision made out of (mis)information in that it was an "appropriate" learning environment for Filipino or EM students in general. According

to Mr Wong, Melange students were mostly referred to the school by their relatives and friends. If one holds on to the assumption of Cunanan, then the referral that EM students and parents received needs further investigation: Was it simply a word of mouth? What schooling options have these EM families explored? What has been taken into the account in choosing their school?

Second, related to the first point, the learning environment of Melange allowed for the learning of Chinese at a level suitable to them. As detailed in Chapter 6, this environment was where they studied Chinese with occasional use of English as a medium of instruction, a less challenging language to most EM students. If studying in mainstream Chinese schools meant that they would receive less learning support in Chinese language, then an immediate reaction to such an option would be, not surprisingly, to avoid it.

Third, the cultural environment of Melange fostered social relations, relationships and practices that enabled Filipino students to sustain their ethnic identity. If the notion of ethnic nepotism (i.e., the “natural tendencies of human nature to... communicate with people who seem to be like you” [Mr Cruz]) is applied here, then one can anticipate how less appealing Chinese schools are to Filipino students, an environment where they would stand out as ethnic others and thereby feel less included. But this was not the case in Melange. The Filipino students were able to be who they were as Filipinos by playing music and speaking their own language without the fear of being discriminated against.

While these explanations need further investigation, they reveal some systematic and individual factors that offer ways to examine EM students’ schooling decision-making processes. The point here is not to simplistically attribute such options to either systematic or individual reasons. It is rather more productive to examine how these two aspects interact in the ways in which they shape the schooling decision of EM students and parents. Schooling options are not to be underplayed because the consequences of these options, if anything, are interlaced with a particular schooling discourse that defines the ethnic identity of students.

Consequences and Questions

I would postulate that the stronger the maintenance of ethnic identity within a multiethnic school, given that there are limited opportunities to expose students to social interactions with Chinese people and peers, the stronger the perceived cultural divide between EM students and Hong Kong Chinese will be. To clarify, this cultural divide does not imply ethnic hatred, violence or aggression between EM students and Hong Kong Chinese. The language barrier between EM and Hong Kong Chinese is not merely a

communication gap, but a signification of a social reality that their fractured ethnic identity projects. Consider this semiotic view on identity:

Signs prepare individuals for the immediate future based on their previous experiences, by capturing in an abstract and generalized form the ever-changing experience. They go beyond creating a fit with the present state, and instead build a basis for facing new, unpredictable, but anticipated experiences in the future. (Märtsin, 2008, p. 68)

Whether the perception on the cultural divide is real or imagined, a powerful aspect of it rests not on the stories of the Filipino students per se, but the future orientation of what these stories signify — a lingering thought that, as EM students, they are somehow “meant” to be excluded from the mainstream Chinese society. In one way, an outcome of this thought reflects the “hidden rule” that Helena described: “you just go with the ones they think you’re supposed to be with”.

Predictably, as long as the schooling structure for EM students remains the same, there will hardly be an opportunity for them to immerse more fully in a Chinese language speaking environment. The lack of opportunity to use Chinese in a multiethnic school, owing to the prevailing use of English language with peers, means that they can only develop Chinese language proficiency up to a certain level. Inevitably, what this situation in multiethnic schools revives is a debate on whether good Chinese language pedagogies can replace a language-rich environment in improving EM students’ Chinese language proficiency. In other words, to paraphrase an adage, how can they be Romans if they are not in Rome in the first place? Similarly, how can EM students integrate if they are in a learning environment that does not necessarily position them as Hong Kong people?

As Kennedy and Hue (2011) have cautioned us, changes at policy level require challenging long held cultural values in the society to dismantle barriers that limit the educational and career advancements of EM individuals. In this parlance, while there is much to look forward to in terms of systematic changes, it seems unrealistic to simply wait for policy and cultural values to miraculously change over a short period of time. Therefore, at an individual level, it is equally important for EM parents and students to critically engage with questions pertaining to their schooling options and desired learning environment. Questions often come down to the readiness to plan for the educational outcomes of a student and foresee the demands in the job market. If an EM child is to be sent to a local Chinese school, is the family prepared to gain educational support in Chinese language for the child?

If, on the other hand, an EM child is to study in a multiethnic school, is the family prepared that the Chinese language learning condition in these schools may not be the same as those of local Chinese schools? More fundamentally, do they wish to immerse and participate in the wider Chinese society of Hong Kong? Why or why not? To place these questions in a much broader context, one can reflect on the resemblance of the cultural divide that the Filipino students perceived in relation to an observation of Organisation for Economic Co-operative Development (2010):

A factor commonly identified as holding back minority youth is the lack of wider social networking outside this immediate network, and little knowledge on how the labour market system works. Stemming from this, young people often do not have the contacts which are so useful in building up confidence and establishing a path into employment, nor role models or mentors who can set a strong example and encourage greater contact with people not from their own ethnic group. (p. 5)

Such a situation speaks to this study with a somewhat similar slant in highlighting how minority students can be locked into their own social circles, thus inhibiting their academic and professional advancement. Crucially, this study has highlighted the undercurrents and ramifications of the Hong Kong education system on the various layers of social relationships and peer networks of EM students in a multiethnic school by examining Filipino students' ethnic identity negotiation. More or less, who they will be tomorrow as Filipinos and/or Hong Kong people is the result of the choices of policy-makers, educators, researchers, parents and students today. In moving forward, I shall discuss the implications of this study in the following section.

Research Implications

On Research Literature

By elucidating the ethnic identity negotiation of Filipino students in a multiethnic school in Hong Kong, this thesis expands the literature on minority education and identity work in educational settings with reference to Asian context. Where Western and English-speaking countries have been the prevailing hosts of migrant students, the increasing representation of EM individuals in Hong Kong in the media and educational discourse attracts research attention in terms of how minority students respond to their learning environment. Pragmatically, a predominant research discourse on EM in Hong Kong is their Chinese language learning as discussed in Chapter 1. While I do not underplay the importance of learning Chinese because of its implication on ethnic identity when identifying

with the local culture, overemphasising the language issues could risk bypassing other cultural issues related to race, gender, class and religion attached to the educational wellbeing of EM students.

The focused analysis on Filipino students allowed for the illustration of sociocultural diversity within the ethnic group. Often, the need to garner a greater sample size has at times prompted researchers to study different ethnic groups. Although collecting data from different ethnic groups per se is ideal for cross-cultural comparison, it could be convenient to conflate them as a homogenous group that loses sight of the diversity within an ethnic group. In this thesis, I have shown how the Filipino students negotiated their ethnic identity through a host of social practices related to the contours of peer network and institutional structure. Empirically, the analysis allows researchers to outline how ethnic identity negotiation process traverse across the sociocultural hierarchies of schooling environments, which makes explicit the cultural resources that contribute to the diversity of EM groups in Hong Kong. Thus, this thesis represents the effort of overcoming the likelihood to simplify or homogenise the cultural diversity of EM students in that they are all just the same.

On Theory

The inclusion of Bernsteinian (1996) and post-Vygotskian (Vadeboncoeur et al., 2011) constructs enriches DST's (Hermans, 2001a, 2002, 2013) application in educational contexts. The nuances of ethnic identity negotiation illustrated in this thesis were made tangible by integrating Bernsteinian, post-Vygotskian and Hermanian frameworks. Using DST as the central theory of this thesis, ethnic identity negotiation can be seen as a dynamic construct, which encompasses multidirectional movements and multiplicity of cultural positions. As argued in Chapter 3, understanding ethnic identity in a specific context requires an analysis that can expose discourses that foreground the dominant ethos of an institution and instructional setting, and sociocultural processes in which individuals negotiate their cultural positioning. Specifically, the analysis facilitated the illustration of external domains of the dialogical self within institutions, which helped locate the prominent contextual layers that individuals interacting with (e.g., peer networks). The theoretical lens as a whole can elevate the dominant voices that contribute to dialogical continuity and discontinuity, such as when the students evoke Chinese language experience and play music. In turn, additional layers of analysis can be added to DST in terms of situating external positions in different contextual layers of sociocultural processes. While it is convenient to summarise the analytical approach of this study into a conglomerate of pedagogic, sociocultural and dialogical perspectives, it

by no means undermines the multifaceted and evolving nature of ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic schools.

On Methodology

Consistent with the ontological position that identity is a meaning-making process as shown in Chapter 3, one needs a close-up treatment of such a process to complement the theoretical lenses articulated earlier. A feature of this study is the combined analysis on the institutional context and individuals. Because ethnic identity is contextualised, it is necessary to explore not only the accounts of the individuals, but also those who and what foregrounded their learning environment. While the links between the pedagogical context and ethnic identity is not as explicit as peer networks, it is possible to extract elements from the data, as shown in Chapters 6 and 7, to highlight how the institutional environment has shaped the instructional context and social relations as a whole, which characterised the ways in which the students responded culturally to their learning environment.

This analysis is critical for researchers (especially if the researcher is not in a capacity to conduct a study as a staff member) to gain a first-hand experience of the learning environment of the EM students before delving into the accounts of the students, which can be accomplished using ethnographic approaches. Accordingly, researchers will be able to observe the nuances that are not immediately tangible when merely looking at one single set of data, such as only seeing the Filipino students played music. This was only accomplished through the combined use of observations and interviews. For example, it would be difficult to make sense of playing guitar as a “Filipino thing” without delving into students’ ascription of ethnic membership in such a social practice. Analytically, researchers will not be solely relying on interview data to interpret the phenomena they are observing, which adds to the credibility and rigour of the study. I suggest that this combined approach is useful in depicting a fuller account of the interface between schooling and individual experience, which can be extended to other related themes of identity research that has a focus on schooling processes in multiethnic environments.

On Practice

While this thesis focused only on one multiethnic school in Hong Kong, its findings speak to emerging multiethnic schools that may be new to catering to culturally diverse students. Despite the negative portrayal of designated schools in the media in relation to negative academic outcomes (Loper, 2004; Tsang, 2010; Yu, 2009), the findings suggest of this study that fostering culturally harmonious institutional environment can enhance student

experience culturally, especially if one prefers studying in a learning environment that uses English and ethnic languages. The consistent acclaim of the Filipino students that they were exposed to “different people”, as described in the I-as-ethnic-minority-in-Hong-Kong position, suggests that the Melange’s ethnic composition facilitated social interactions with different ethnic groups, which, in turn, cultivated respect towards different cultures. This institutional arrangement was also achieved by creating an explicit discourse within the school that values cultural diversity and balancing ethnic composition as described in Chapter 5. Although this study does not discuss pedagogical strategies for minority students in Hong Kong, the findings warrant an exploration into pedagogical approaches that value students’ cultural background, in other words, teaching strategies that can engage EM students’ learning by tapping into their cultural practices (e.g., playing guitar or equivalent practices for other ethnic groups). This is perhaps worthwhile for subjects that are commonly perceived as difficult by EM students, such as Chinese. Therefore, teachers may wish to explore different pedagogical avenues to engage EM students. This is consistent with pedagogical approaches rooted in sociocultural framework that seeks to make teaching culturally relevant to students (Gay, 2001; Nadal, 2008).

In taking advantage of the research implication of this study, it is important to recognise its limitations for further considerations in the research design of future studies.

Limitations

The limitations of the study concern generalisability and representation. Broadly, the findings are based on one multiethnic secondary school in Hong Kong. Caution must be exercised when inferring findings from this study to other schools as Melange’s institutional arrangements may be different. Other multiethnic schools may not have the same ethnic balance, which may present a substantially different schooling experience (e.g., students may not be able to interact with different ethnic groups). Therefore, the findings of the thesis might be transferable only to schools with similar balance of student ethnic composition and visible numbers of Filipino students.

Another source of limitation stems from the restriction posed to me when I negotiated research access at Melange. I was only allowed to work with two teachers, which limited a broader understanding of the pedagogical context in the school. For example, it is difficult to determine whether the instructional environment illustrated in Chapter 6 was typical of Melange. In other words, the lessons of Mr Wong and Mr Cruz were not entirely representative of other lessons in Melange. In terms of interpreting the observation data, it is

important to recognise that the pedagogical discourse transmitted to the students was not solely a structural position. It also involved individual position of the teachers that partly depended upon their own educational experiences. While there were links between the institutional ethos of Melange and the learning environment as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the school did not solely determine the teachers' pedagogical approaches in the lessons.

Since I could only work with the above two teachers, it became challenging to engage students from other classes in the research to gather a larger sample size to compare the relationship between their language proficiencies in Tagalog and Chinese and the students' shifts in ethnic identity. The study made no attempt of testing the students' actual language proficiency. Their respective language abilities were based on their accounts and my direct observations. Moreover, as the findings were based on the accounts of Filipino students, they do not represent the other ethnic groups in the schools because of the qualitative differences in their cultural practices and experiences.

Issues Warranting Future Research

In keeping step with the goals of this thesis, there were signposts towards emergent themes in the observation and interview data that went beyond what can be covered here, which form the basis for future studies on the qualitative relationship of ethnic identity with family, peer network, language and pedagogy.

Ethnic Identity

Apart from the qualitative features of ethnic identity, the notion can also be studied quantitatively. It is possible to use quantitative techniques (e.g., Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measurement (MEIM) Scale (Phinney, 1992)) to determine the extent of contextual factors correlating with shifts on ethnic identification, which insofar has only been demonstrated by the work of Cheung et al. (2014) in Hong Kong. Studies as such can provide more generalisable indicators on what may contribute to ethnic identity development of EM students. It is also important, however, to delineate the different variables associated with each ethnic group when developing appropriate measurements or analysis so as to avoid making conclusions about minority groups homogenously, such as the ethnic identity of South Asians as a whole group.

Family

The literature (e.g., Kiang & Fuligni, 2009) suggests that family socialisation has the most direct influence on shifts in ethnic identity. As such, it would be fruitful to understand

how family context is at play at the day to day life of EM students. For example, some of my participants spoke of the language and cultural practices at home. Researchers can investigate the ways in which these practices contribute to individuals' ethnic identity and whether parents actively reinforce these practices at home. How these cultural practices are enacted at home raise speculations on their influence on ethnic language proficiency. For instance, it is evident that the Filipino students in the study differed substantially in their Tagalog proficiency. Consequently, this linguistic diversity within the Filipino group in Hong Kong leads to speculation, which bears semblance with Osalbo's (2005) work in the U.S. context, whether being less proficient in Filipino contributed to a weaker Filipino ethnic identity.

Language

Following the idea on the previous section, language appears to be an aspect that closely relates to ethnic identity. The inextricable link between language and ethnic identity warrants further research in Hong Kong context. Further work is needed in terms of ascertaining the role and extent of Chinese language proficiency contribute to the identification towards local culture and adjustment towards Hong Kong's learning environment. Comparisons can be made between the ethnic identification and language proficiency in multiethnic schools and local Chinese (with less visible EM) schools. These studies can help clarify the role of Chinese language in facilitating minority students' integration in Hong Kong, which bears significant implication because of the government's policy emphasis on such an educational arrangement.

Peer Network

The contribution of peer relations on ethnic identity has been evident in the findings. Meanwhile, it is still possible to go beyond the data of this thesis to uncover the nuances involved in peer interaction. One of such approach is to conduct a close-up analysis of inter and intra ethnic peer interaction. This is to investigate the emergent and real-time construction of ethnicities in vis-à-vis locutions that demand micro discourse analytic techniques. Another way is to interview students from other ethnic groups to compare various perceptions on experiences studying in culturally diverse environments. The goal of this approach is to explore commonalities and patterns among different ethnic groups with regards to movements in I-positions, which may reveal clues with respect to the ways in which each ethnic group adjust to their learning environment and its relationship to their identities.

In Lieu of Conclusion

To borrow dialogical scholars' (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981; Hermans, 2003) emphasis on the "unfinalisability" of ethnic identity, I purposely stepped away from titling this chapter as "Conclusion". Like any other identities, the ethnic identity of my participants will continually evolve as they enter different educational and professional contexts in Hong Kong. Melange provided Filipino students a multiethnic space to maintain their ethnic identity through music and social relations unique to them (in-group peers), while contesting the notion of being a local person in Hong Kong against the societal emphasis on learning Chinese that had simultaneously been ingrained within the school's institutional fabric. By capturing these phenomena, therefore, this thesis has contributed to the wider dialogue of EM education that (1) addresses how ethnic identity and multiethnic schooling environment are intertwined, (2) offers a theoretical approach which moves researchers away from viewing ethnic identity as a static construct, (3) enables the mapping of ethnic identity negotiation across the sociocultural trail of institutions, and (4) uncovers how a less researched EM group in Hong Kong, Filipinos, responded to their learning environment by observing the multidirectional shifts in their ethnic identity. As Hong Kong continues to engage with the education of EM students, the educational support for them may evolve in some ways like the ways their teachers negotiated their pedagogical approaches in culturally diverse classrooms. Hence, this thesis is only a conduit to more dialogues on cultural and identity issues in Hong Kong's educational landscape. There is so much more than what ethnic labels can tell about people.

EPILOGUE

GOING BACK TO WHERE I CAME FROM?

“Culture starts at home.”

The above remark of Nelly Fung, author of *Beneath the Banyan Tree: My Family Chronicles*, resonated strongly in my mind after attending her lecture at City University of Hong Kong in April 2013. If anything, Fung’s remark that was born out of the rich cultural tapestry of the Philippines qualifies as a convenient response to the identity conundrum I described in the prologue.

Regardless of my cultural makeup, I simply want to belong somewhere.

Part of the search to belong somewhere involves asking who I am at this time and at this place. In places where cultural borders are both permeable and opaque, identifying with a home can hardly be straightforward. As one of my participants put it, there are “hidden rules” in societies that put people into categories, it is not simply a matter of how we like to define ourselves.

I am no exception from this as a researcher who tried to identify my participants’ different I-positions. I needed to figure out the patterns in my data, yet I feel that I am compartmentalising their ethnic identity in some ways.

But perhaps that is not the case, as I discovered that ethnic identity is more than defining their ethnic labels — it is not so much about being called a Filipino, a Hong Kong Chinese or an ethnic minority.

Rather, beyond the veneer of ethnic labels are a wealth of stories that reveal minority people’s reception, rejection, elation, contemplation, celebration and contradiction when identifying with a particular culture.

They are not just a host of personal and schooling stories, but dialogues that offer a glimpse into their integration process, especially if we are to understand how minority students try to fit into their host society.

I ask: Mirror, mirror on the wall, why should we know who ethnic minority students are?

It is simple. School is a place where they make sense of who they are. It gives birth to a social currency that is home to many dialogues that crisscross with others that form a sense of unity, a space where my participants came to appreciate their school's cultural diversity. That has become ingrained in their mental universe.

For them, school is another home. For me, this thesis has become a home of learning that records where I came from as a Filipino person in Hong Kong and where I am going to as an aspiring academic.

I long to find a home because I yearn to pick up the fragments of my life stories, to see how they hang together and also to help other minorities see how their life stories can hang together as they live in a city they call home. This home of learning as it evolves, I hope, is where unity characterises diversity, where fragments become coherent, where musings transpire as writings that stimulate dialogues, and ultimately, where constant dialoguing with others chronicles multiple ways of becoming.

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Appendix 1 Ethics Application Approval

Social Science Ethics Officer
Private Bag 01 Hobart
Tasmania 7001 Australia
Tel: (03) 6226 2763
Fax: (03) 6226 7148
Katherine.Shaw@utas.edu.au



HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (TASMANIA) NETWORK

7 March 2013

Assoc Prof Rosemary Callingham
Faculty of Education
Locked Bag 1307

Student Researcher: Jan Gube

Sent via email

Dear Assoc Prof Callingham

Re: FULL ETHICS APPLICATION APPROVAL
Ethics Ref: **H0012944 - Classroom, identity and cultural diversity: Identity formation and negotiation of ethnic minority students in Hong Kong**

We are pleased to advise that the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee approved the above project on 26 February 2013.

This approval constitutes ethical clearance by the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. The decision and authority to commence the associated research may be dependent on factors beyond the remit of the ethics review process. For example, your research may need ethics clearance from other organisations or review by your research governance coordinator or Head of Department. It is your responsibility to find out if the approval of other bodies or authorities is required. It is recommended that the proposed research should not commence until you have satisfied these requirements.

Please note that this approval is for four years and is conditional upon receipt of an annual Progress Report. Ethics approval for this project will lapse if a Progress Report is not submitted.

The following conditions apply to this approval. Failure to abide by these conditions may result in suspension or discontinuation of approval.

1. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval, to ensure the project is conducted as approved by the Ethics Committee, and to notify the Committee if any investigators are added to, or cease involvement with, the project.

A PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

2. Complaints: If any complaints are received or ethical issues arise during the course of the project, investigators should advise the Executive Officer of the Ethics Committee on 03 6226 7479 or human.ethics@utas.edu.au.
3. Incidents or adverse effects: Investigators should notify the Ethics Committee immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
4. Amendments to Project: Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval is obtained from the Ethics Committee. Please submit an Amendment Form (available on our website) to notify the Ethics Committee of the proposed modifications.
5. Annual Report: Continued approval for this project is dependent on the submission of a Progress Report by the anniversary date of your approval. You will be sent a courtesy reminder closer to this date. **Failure to submit a Progress Report will mean that ethics approval for this project will lapse.**
6. Final Report: A Final Report and a copy of any published material arising from the project, either in full or abstract, must be provided at the end of the project.

Yours sincerely



Katherine Shaw
Ethics Officer
Tasmania Social Sciences HREC

Appendix 2.1 Information Sheet (Principal)

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PRINCIPAL

Classroom, identity and cultural diversity: Identity formation and negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong classrooms

What is the purpose of this study?

The purpose of this study is to explore how Filipino students understand their ethnic identity in relation to their schooling experience in Hong Kong.

Why have I and my school been invited to participate?

We learned from Education Bureau's documentation that your school admits a substantial number of Filipino students, which makes your school an excellent site for this project.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to facilitate the following research activities:

(i) Support the research process

- Kindly permit the student investigator Mr Jan Gube to visit your school on a regular basis over a span of about 5 months until the end of school year
- Recommend 3 teachers for each of these subjects: Chinese, English, mathematics and liberal studies to participate in the study (see the following section for details)

(ii) Participate in an individual interview

- The interview will be conducted face-to-face and at a place and time of mutual convenience
- The interview can be conducted in English and/or Cantonese
- You will be given with an outline of the questions before the interview
- The entire interview will take about 1 hour
- At the beginning of the interview, you will be asked for permission to audio-record the conversation; you may decline permission with no consequence to you.
- You will be sent a copy of the interview transcript for your review and correction upon its production

(iii) Document collection

- You will be asked to share relevant school documents that outline your school's background, history, values and rules. This will help us understand your school.
- To facilitate this process, Mr Gube will take photos of your school upon your permission. You will be asked to approve all photos.

What will my teachers be asked to do?

Your teachers will be asked to participate in the following research activities:

(i) Individual interview

- Interviews will be conducted face-to-face at a place and time of mutual convenience.
- The interview can be conducted in English and/or Cantonese.
- Participants will be given with an outline of the questions before the interview.
- The entire interview will take about 1 hour.
- At the beginning of the interview, your teachers will be asked for permission to audio-record the conversation; they may decline permission.

- They will be sent a copy of the interview transcript for their review and correction upon its production.

(ii) Classroom observations

- The observations are to learn more about your teachers' interactions with their students.
- These are not evaluation of their teaching as the focus is on classroom practices and activities – descriptive notes may be taken accordingly.
- Schedule of observations will be arranged individually with your teachers.
- Your teachers can teach as usual as the researcher will not interfere with the classroom activities.

What will my students be asked to do?

Your students will be asked to participate in the following research activities:

(i) First interview

- Mr Gube will interview them face-to-face in the school outside class hours.
- The interview can be conducted in English and/or Filipino.
- They will be given an outline of the questions before the interview
- This interview will take about 1 hour.
- At the beginning of the interview, they will be asked for permission to audio-record the conversation; they may decline permission.
- They will be sent individually a copy of the interview transcript for review and correction upon its production.

(ii) Media project

- This project asks participants to create a video-clip in response to the question “What does it mean to be a Filipino student in Hong Kong?”
- Prior to this task, the students will be given detailed information as outlined in a separate instruction sheet.
- They will have 2 weeks to prepare this 3-minute video.

(iii) Final interview

- This interview will focus on their video-making experience, which will be a discussion of the content of their videos.
- It will be conducted face-to-face at the school outside class hours.
- The interview can be conducted in English and/or Filipino.
- This interview will take only about 30 minutes – 1 hour.
- At the beginning of the interview, they will be asked for permission to audio-record the conversation; they may decline permission.
- They will be sent individually a copy of the interview transcript for review and correction upon its production.

Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

While education for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong is under continuous development and reform, your involvement in this study is timely, which will be an opportunity for you, your teaching staff and your students to share views and good practices. The outcome of the study may have implications on relevant educational practice and provisions.

Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

There is no foreseeable risk in your participation in this study, as you will be free to express only what you wish to share. In the unlikely event that you become upset as a result of this study, you will be referred to the school counsellor.

How do I participate in your study and what if I change my mind afterwards?

You can take part in this study by signing the attached consent form. Please retain this information sheet for your future reference.

Your involvement in this study is voluntary. While we would be grateful for your participation, we respect your right to decline and withdraw at any time. There will be no consequence to you if you decide to do so. It is also possible to discard any information collected from you up to the point of withdrawal upon request.

What will happen to the information when this study is over?

The information will be kept by the investigators for study and analytical purposes. It will be kept electronically in password protected files at the University of Tasmania for a period of 5 years after which time it will be deleted.

Will others be able to identify me in your study?

No. All information collected from the study will be treated with utmost confidentiality. To guarantee this,

- you will be assigned a fictitious name to protect your identity unless you wish otherwise;
- all captured information, whether photographed, taped or written, will be stored in password-secured files at the online storage facilities of University of Tasmania;
- they will be only accessible by the investigators;
- the data will only be retained up to 5 years and will be subject to deletion and afterwards.

How will the results of the study be published?

The results will be initially available in electronic format, which will later be published as a thesis, scholarly articles at educational conferences, journals and internal study reports at University of Tasmania. Please discuss with Mr Gube if you wish to obtain such information.

What if I have questions about this study?

If you have any questions or wish to obtain more information on the study, you may contact any of the investigators.

Associate Professor Rosemary Callingham
Tel: +61 3 6324 3051
Email: Rosemary.Callingham@utas.edu.au

Mr Jan Gube
Tel: +61 3 6324 3792
Email: Jan.Gube@utas.edu.au

This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on (03) 6226 7479 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants. Please quote ethics reference number H012944.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS

Classroom, identity and cultural diversity: Identity formation and negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong classrooms

What is the purpose of this study?

The purpose of this study is to explore Filipino students' understanding of their ethnic identity in relation to their schooling experience in Hong Kong.

Why have I been invited to participate?

As a teacher of students of ethnic minority students, your experience and perspective can help us understand the role of your teaching in your students' learning experience.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in the following research activities:

(i) Individual interview

- The Interview will be conducted face-to-face at a place and time of mutual convenience.
- It can be conducted in English and/or Cantonese.
- Participants will be given an outline of the questions before the interview.
- The entire interview will take about 1 hour.
- At the beginning of the interview, you will be asked for permission to audio-record the conversation; you may decline permission with no consequence to you.
- You will be sent a copy of the interview transcript for review and correction upon its production.

(ii) Classroom observations

- The observations are to learn more about your interactions with your students.
- This research activity is not an evaluation of your teaching as the focus is on classroom practices and activities (e.g., in-class tasks, events) – descriptive notes may be taken.
- Schedule of observations will be arranged individually with you in the school.
- You can teach as usual and as the researcher will not interfere with your classroom activities.

To facilitate the remaining research activities, you will be kindly asked to help distribute the research invitation materials to your students and subsequently collect consent forms from them. The researcher will discuss the specific arrangement with you at the school.

Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

While education for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong is under continuous development and reform, your involvement in this study is timely, which will be an opportunity to share your views and good practices. The outcome of the study may have implications on relevant educational practice and provisions.

Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

There is no foreseeable risk in your participation in this study, as you will be free to express only what you wish to share. In the unlikely event that you become upset as a result of this study, you will be referred to the school counsellor.

How do I participate in your study and what if I change my mind afterwards?

You can take part in this study by signing the attached consent form. Please retain this information sheet for your future reference.

Your involvement in this study is voluntary. While we would be grateful for your participation, we respect your right to decline and withdraw at any time. There will be no consequence to you if you decide to do so. It is also possible to discard any information collected from you up to the point of withdrawal upon request.

What will happen to the information when this study is over?

The information will be kept by the investigators for study and analytical purposes. It will be kept electronically in password protected files at the University of Tasmania for a period of 5 years after which time it will be deleted.

Will others be able to identify me in your study?

No. All information collected from the study will be treated with utmost confidentiality. To guarantee this,

- you will be assigned a fictitious name to protect your identity unless you wish otherwise;
- all captured information, whether photographed, taped or written, will be stored in password-secured online storage facilities of the University of Tasmania;
- they are only accessible by the investigators;
- the data will only be retained up to 5 years and will be subject to deletion afterwards.

How will the results of the study be published?

The results will be initially available electronically, which will later be published as a thesis, scholarly articles at educational conferences, journals and internal study reports at University of Tasmania. Please discuss with Mr Gube if you wish to obtain such information.

What if I have questions about this study?

If you have any questions or wish to obtain more information on the study, you may contact any of the investigators.

Associate Professor Rosemary Callingham
Tel: +61 3 6324 3051
Email: Rosemary.Callingham@utas.edu.au

Mr Jan Gube
Tel: +61 3 6324 3792
Email: Jan.Gube@utas.edu.au

This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on (03) 6226 7479 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants. Please quote ethics reference number H012944.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS & STUDENTS

Classroom, identity and cultural diversity: Identity formation and negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong classrooms

What is the purpose of this study?

The purpose of this study is to understand how Filipino students understand their ethnic identity in relation to their schooling experience in Hong Kong.

Why is my child invited to participate?

There is very little documentation on Filipino students' schooling experiences in Hong Kong. As a member of Hong Kong Filipino community, your child's views can expand our understanding of their learning experiences.

What will my child be asked to do?

Your child will be asked to participate in the following research activities:

(i) First interview

- Mr Gube will interview your child in the school outside class hours.
- The interview can be conducted in English and/or Filipino.
- Your child will be given an outline of the questions before the interview.
- This interview will take about 1 hour.
- At the beginning of the interview, your child will be asked for permission to audio-record the conversation; s/he may decline permission.
- Your child will be given a copy of the interview transcript for review and correction upon its production.

(ii) Media project

- This project asks participants to create a video-clip in response to the question "What does it mean to be a Filipino student in Hong Kong?"
- Prior to this task, your child will be given detailed information as outlined in a separate instruction sheet.
- S/he will have 2 weeks to prepare this 3-minute video.

(iii) Final interview

- This interview will focus on their video-making experience, which will be a discussion of the video content.
- It will be conducted face-to-face at the school outside class hours.
- The interview can be conducted in English and/or Filipino.
- The entire process will take 30 minutes – 1 hour.
- At the beginning of the interview, s/he will be asked for permission to audio-record the conversation; s/he may decline permission.
- S/he will be sent individually a copy of the interview transcript for review and correction upon its production.

Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

While education for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong is under continuous development and reform, your child's involvement in this study is timely, which will be an opportunity to share his / her

educational experiences in Hong Kong. The outcome of the study may have implications on relevant educational practice and school provisions.

Are there any possible risks from my child's participation in this study?

There is no foreseeable risk in your participation in this study, as your child will be free to express only what s/he wishes to share. In the unlikely event that your child becomes upset as a result of this study, s/he will be referred to the school counsellor.

How does my child participate in your study and what if I change my mind afterwards?

You can consent for your child to take part in this study by signing the attached consent form. Please retain this information sheet for your future reference.

Your child's involvement in this study is voluntary. While we would be grateful for your child's participation, we respect your and your child's right to decline and withdraw at any time. There will be no consequence to you and your child if you or s/he decides to do so. It is also possible to discard any information collected from your child up to the point of withdrawal upon request.

What if my child or I change my mind during or after the study?

Your child's participation is purely voluntary. Your child is free to withdraw at any time, and s/he can do so without providing an explanation. Any data or information collected up to the point of withdrawal will be discarded.

Will others be able to identify my child in your study?

No. All information collected from the study will be treated with utmost confidentiality. To guarantee this,

- Your child will be assigned a fictitious name and your child's features will be masked in the captured videos to protect your child's identity;
- all captured information, whether photographed, taped or written, will be stored at in password-secured online storage facilities of University of Tasmania;
- they are only accessible by the investigators;
- the data will only be retained up to 5 years and will be subject to deletion and shredding afterwards.

How will the results of the study be published?

The results will be initially available electronically, which will later be published as a thesis, scholarly articles at educational conferences, journals and internal study reports at University of Tasmania. Please discuss with Mr Gube if you wish to obtain such information.

What if I have questions about this study?

If you have any questions or wish to obtain more information on the study, you may contact any of the investigators.

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This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on (03) 6226 7479 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants. Please quote ethics reference number H012944.

Appendix 3.1 Consent Form (Principal)

CONSENT FORM (PRINCIPAL)

Classroom, identity and cultural diversity: Identity formation and negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong classrooms

1. I agree to take part in the research study named above.
2. I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.
3. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
4. I understand that my school's participation in this study involves
 - permitting Mr Gube to visit our school regularly;
 - an interview with me as a principal and sharing of relevant school documents;
 - interviews and class observations with a selected group of teachers; and
 - interviews and media project with a selected group of Filipino students
5. I understand that my participation as a principal in this study involves
 - conversing with Mr Gube in a recorded interview and I will have an opportunity to review the transcript of the conversation;
 - providing Mr Gube relevant school documents related to our school background; and
 - permitting Mr Gube to take photos of the school interior for documentation purposes and that I can audit those photos.
6. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania's premises for five years, and will then be destroyed.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I understand that the researchers will maintain confidentiality and that any information I supply to the researchers will be used only for the purposes of the research.
9. I understand that the results of the study will be published as a thesis, at educational conferences and internal study reports at University of Tasmania, and that I will not be identified as a participant.
10. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any effect on me.
If I so wish, I may request that any data I have supplied be withdrawn from the research until 31 August 2013.

REPLY SLIP

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Email address: _____

Telephone number: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

☐

I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Investigator's name: _____ Jan Gube

Investigator's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3.2 Consent Form (Teachers)

CONSENT FORM (TEACHERS)

Classroom, identity and cultural diversity: Identity formation and negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong classrooms

1. I agree to take part in the research study named above.
2. I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.
3. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
4. I understand that my participation in this study involves
 - conversing with Mr Gube in a recorded interview and I will have an opportunity to review the transcript of the interview; and
 - permitting Mr Gube to visit my classes on a regular basis this semester, in which he will observe and take notes.
5. I understand that there is no foreseeable risk in my participation in this study and if I become upset as a result of this study, I will be referred to a school counsellor.
6. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania's premises for five years, and will then be destroyed.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I understand that the researchers will maintain confidentiality and that any information I supply to the researchers will be used only for the purposes of the research.
9. I understand that the results of the study will be published as a thesis, at educational conferences and internal study reports at University of Tasmania, and that I will not be identified as a participant.
10. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any effect on me.
If I so wish, I may request that any data I have supplied be withdrawn from the research until 31 August 2013.

REPLY SLIP

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Email address: _____

Telephone number: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

☐

I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Investigator's name: _____ Jan Gube

Investigator's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3.3 Consent Form (Parents and Students)

CONSENT FORM (PARENTS AND STUDENTS)

Classroom, identity and cultural diversity: Identity formation and negotiation of Filipino students in Hong Kong classrooms

1. I consent for my child to take part in the research study named above.
2. I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.
3. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
4. I understand that my child will involve in this study by
 - participating in two recorded interviews with Mr Gube, a one-hour interview and then a 30-minute interview after the video-making activity; and
 - creating a 3-minute creative video clip about my child's identity in school.
5. I understand that there is no foreseeable risk in my child's participation in this study and if my child becomes upset as a result of this study, s/he will be referred to a school counsellor.
6. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania's premises for five years, and will then be destroyed.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I understand that the researchers will maintain confidentiality and that any information I supply to the researchers will be used only for the purposes of the research.
9. I understand that the results of the study will be published as a thesis, at educational conferences and internal study reports at University of Tasmania, and that my child will not be identified as a participant.
10. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that my child may withdraw at any time without any effect.
If I so wish, I or my child may request that any data I have supplied be withdrawn from the research until 31 August 2013.

REPLY SLIP

Parent's name: _____

Parent's signature: _____

Student's name and class: _____

Student's email address: _____

Student's telephone number: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

☐

I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Investigator's name: _____ Jan Gube

Investigator's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4.1 Interview Topic Guide (Principal)

Theme	Question
Establishment of the school	1. Tell me how this school became a 'designated school'.
Understanding the demographics of the school	2. Typically, how do parents find out about your school? 3. Can you describe to me the student population mix of the school?
School's objective and views on student characteristics	4. Broadly speaking, what does the school hope to achieve for its students? What are its objectives and motto? 5. Can you describe to me what your students generally are like in this school? What are their learning styles like? Are they different from Chinese students?
Administration processes of the school	6. How is your school funded to support ethnic minority students? 7. How does this impact on the way you would run this school? If so, how? If not, how do you make use of this freedom or autonomy in overseeing this school? 8. Based on your experience, is there a difference in the way you would manage this school than a local (Chinese) secondary mainstream school? If so, what are those differences?
School's expectation on teachers	9. In terms of their teaching, what is the school's expectation for your teachers? 10. When you employ a teacher in this school, what kind of qualities do you value in teaching? 11. What do your teachers generally think about their teaching in this school? What comments would you typically hear from your teachers? 12. What processes are in place for your teachers to be able to support minority students?
General perception of the school	13. What are the benefits of being in this school as a principal?

Appendix 4.2 Interview Topic Guide (Teachers)

Theme	Question
Understanding the subjects and year level taught	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What subjects do you teach this year apart from the KLA you are in charge in? 2. What levels (classes) of students are you teaching this year?
Understanding the expectations of the schools and influence of the curriculum on teachers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Based on your experience here, what kind of expectations does the school have for the teachers? 4. Do these expectations influence your teaching? To what extent? Can you give me an example? 5. In the subject that you are teaching, does the curriculum influence your teaching in anyway? If so, how? If not, how do you regard the curriculum?
Teachers' past experiences and influence on their current teaching approach	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. What about your past experience as a student? Does it influence the way you are teaching now? 7. What teaching strategies, in your opinion, are the most effective on these students? 8. Would you use the same strategies when teaching local Chinese students? If yes, share with me your strategies for local students? If not, what commonalities do students here have with local Chinese students?
Teachers' views on minority students	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. If we believe that one of the important roles of a school is to help prepare the students for the society, then in your opinion, what kind of qualities do you think your students should have? 10. Based on that, what kind of advice do you usually give to your students? 11. Tell me about the learning styles of your students. Do you think all students here generally have the same learning characteristics? If so, what is common among them? If not, tell me more about their differences. 12. What about Filipino students? What can you say about their learning style?
General perception of the school	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. What are the benefits of being in this school as a teacher?

Appendix 4.3 Interview Topic Guide (Students)

Theme	Question
Students' understanding of their ethnic identity through national icons and language use	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I would like you to spend some time to look at the pictures inside this envelope and choose the ones that you think that would best describe yourself. If you think none of the image describes you well, you can pick a blank paper and draw or write anything you think that would best describe you. 2. Tell me how these pictures describe you. How do these images relate to you? What did you feel just then when you saw these images? 3. What language(s) do you speak at home? 4. What language(s) do you speak at school?
Students' intercultural encounters and perceptions of their country of origin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Try recalling the moments when meeting a new friend. When this new friend asks you "where are you from" what would you say?
Understanding students' (or their parents') choice of school	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Tell me how you came to this school. Did your parents choose this school for you? 7. How long have you been in Hong Kong?
Understanding students' perceived views of teachers on them	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. What do you see as the characteristics of a good teacher? 9. How have teachers helped you learn in general? 10. Do you think your teachers influence the way you see yourself? In what ways?
General perception of the school	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. What are the benefits of being in this school as a student?

Appendix 5 Interview Transcript Excerpt

J: Jan

T: Trisha (Pseudonym)

0.02	J	Okay. Now Trisha you've picked those four pictures. Now tell me how these pictures will link to you.
0.12	T	Well first of all, the obvious thing I am Filipino and I guess the reason why it's the flag was because I think that's the most obvious thing that can represent a Filipino and for me it just kind of shows how – for me, I actually – how like a lot of the things that have a flag on it and I don't know why even though I don't really know much about the Philippines to be honest because I really stayed here all my life and I never really studied Philippine history kaya parang ito lang talaga yung nakakapagpakita na Filipino ako. Ewan ko kung bakit. And in addition to that, parang Manny Pacquiao right? Like in addition to him and Ms. Universe, they're Filipino, right, and that's the only thing I can brag about sort of. Like, "Oh my God, Manny Pacquiao is Filipino and I'm from the Philippines." And I like to I guess not only brag but I'm really proud of these people who actually make a good image for the Philippines because parang everything that Philippines has in the corrupt government, all these crazy things about crime, and also because I can remember – I remember there was a fight for Manny Pacquiao, there's always like the lower crime rates going on and I really like that a lot in Philippines. And the jeepney because it's kind of ironic because I've never ridden a jeepney before. And the fact that I saw it I was just like, "Wow, that's like one of the things that I've never really been on." So it's kind of, I don't know, I feel – not nostalgic but I feel kind of sad. And overall, as a Filipino, I like the fact that I am Filipino.
2.13	J	Okay, yeah. And then my second question relates to that. Now, what was your initial feeling when you saw these pictures?
2.23	T	Well, this is like – even though I'm Filipino I wasn't really like part of it, like that like I'm here in this Chinese society right? You don't really see much of these jeepneys, you can't really show off that you're Filipino especially because of the controversy going on – the Manila hostage. And I guess Manny Pacquiao is getting overrated – I mean like it's like Manny Pacquiao and then – But then I also feel like nostalgic, very nostalgic.
3.04	J	Okay, right. Now Trisha can you tell me where – you were born here right? You were born here, so have you been to the Philippines?
3.13	T	Yeah. A lot actually but very short periods of time. Like if not two weeks, there was once I think in form 2 to 3, I stayed there for like two months during sa July which was like the most horrible time because it was like bagyo and is stayed in my own place for like two months just at home and I never experienced a lot of the Filipino stuff there.
3.42	J	So how often do you go to there?

3.47	T	Well it's not that often actually. Like I've been there four times. No, no, it's not often; my bad. Around four times.
3.58	J	Around four times. So that means yeah, right, you've never lived in the Philippines. So you stayed there for only very short periods and nagbakasyon lang ano?
4.09	T	Yeah. But then, there was like, actually my parents told me that I studied one grade there, like for grade three. I don't remember any of that but I basically lived my life here.
4.23	J	Okay. Grade three ka lang?
4.25	T	Like half a year, then I came here.
4.28	J	Okay. Right, I will ask you that later about your school life. Now, how old are you again?
4.36	T	I am 17.
4.37	J	You say you're 17, okay. Now if you don't mind telling me what do your parents work as here.
4.43	T	My mother used to be a manager in a, what's this, product company, like Forever Living. I think it's like a cosmetic company and now she's a housewife. My dad has been a musician for quite a while now.
5.00	J	Okay. So you're living with them now?
5.03	T	Yeah.
5.04	J	You have siblings?
5.05	T	Yeah, I have two brothers. One is – well they're both six years apart. One six years younger and one six years older.
5.12	J	Okay. So ikaw yung nasa gitna?
5.14	T	Yeah. Only girl.
5.15	J	Only girl, okay. What languages do you speak at home?
5.22	T	Kapag galit, Tagalog. Kapag if it was just like, just English – basically everything is English, but different just – yeah, I don't know why I speak tagalog when I'm angry and my parents.
5.36	J	Okay. Pero daily communication, English?
5.39	T	English.

5.41	J	Okay. Let's say you speak English and Tagalog, do you speak any other languages?
5.48	T	No, unfortunately not.
5.50	J	Other Filipino dialects, how about Bisaya or –
5.53	T	I understand though; I don't speak.
5.55	J	Okay, understand Bisaya?
5.57	T	No, not Bisaya, Ilocano.
5.59	J	Ah Ilocano, like mga wen, mga –
6.01	T	Yeah, like that.
6.04	J	Okay. Okay let's say you speak English and Tagalog, then how fluent are you in those languages?
6.13	T	English, I guess I can say I'm quite fluent. For Tagalog, I guess as conversation, that's pretty much all I can do. But if I were to translate or actually to read something that's – something that's ((Jose Rizal)), that's out of my league. But yeah, Tagalog, probably a two out of five and English four out of five.
6.40	J	Tagalog newspaper?
6.42	T	Tagalog newspaper? It's alright? I've never really had a chance to read newspapers, like recently, but I think I've seen some.
6.55	J	Okay. Now what can you say about your life in Hong Kong so far?
7.02	T	Life in Hong Kong – well, I do like the environment here; it's so much better than the Philippines, that's what I can say. Schooling here, I feel like it's much more better because you have more resources here, tapos I find like there are so many Filipinos here, that I can like relate to them. But like that thing is, I can't speak Chinese and it's so horrible. Every one – Mr. Cruz especially is always emphasizing how important it is to actually speak Chinese and we can't go anywhere I guess in the university if we can't speak Chinese, if we can't interact at least. Because even I can't really – not even like directions and I feel really bad when like people ask me and then they are like, "Where is this?" Like I only know where but not the place and how to go. I can just point which is kind of not a really good thing. So I guess that feels alright. It's just the communication thing is really hard for me.
8.09	J	Okay, okay. Now you mentioned to me about the environment here in Hong Kong. So when you say that's one of the good things here, in what way you say environment?

8.22	T	I guess like the environment like the cleanliness here compared to the Philippines. The people here I guess – I don't know, from where I lived are really nosy people and maybe because everyone knows each other but here it's just like I really don't interact with many people like Chinese people especially. And my neighbors, no, I don't speak to my neighbors or like any Chinese students outside of the school or actually anyone out of the school other than my friends. Environment – just everything here is like times two better than the Philippines if I were to compare the environment.
9.08	J	Okay. ((?)) how often do you visit the Philippines – now we've talked about, so you've been only four times. So when was the last time you were there?
9.22	T	Form 2 to 3?
9.23	J	Form 2 to 3, okay. Now this question, like, you know, when somebody asks you about your ethnic background, let's say you know, you meet a new friend and then he or she asks you where are you from, what would you say?
9.41	T	I would say I'm a Filipino, yeah. Actually there's like a few people who – actually most of the people who ask me, "Are you a Filipino or are you mixed?" because they first ask me if I'm an Australian or something or if I'm half. But I say I'm really ((true)) Filipino.
10.00	J	Okay. I mean I was going to ask you about that. Like you know, when people guess and without asking you they would say you're mixed?
10.12	T	Yeah, they would ask me if I'm mixed or if I'm somewhere like I'm American. Like actually someone at work asked me if I was Chinese and then they all talked to me in Chinese for some reason. And then after I finally talked in English, they said, "Oh, you're not Chinese?", "No, I'm Filipino."
10.32	J	Okay. So I mean, what kind of guesses would you get the most?
10.39	T	Guesses? As in about the ethnicity?
10.41	J	The ethnicity, yeah.
10.42	T	Mostly American or from Australia. Especially when they first talk to me, they keep like saying, "Oh you have a good accent for a Filipino. I never would have guessed you were a Filipino." I don't know.
10.59	J	Okay. Now where do you feel at home, Philippines or Hong Kong or somewhere else?
11.11	T	I'd really have to say I'm more at home in Hong Kong because I've never really stayed there to a point that I got used to the environment because every time I go there, it's a really bad experience for me. Either – I don't know, like every time I go there, there's this weird superstitious thing that my lola keeps on telling me. Like I always love little duwende following me and always getting me in trouble every time I go there so she suggests that I don't go to Philippines too often because I always get sick, like horribly sick every time I go there. So – and

		it's just like for a few weeks so I don't really get used to the environment.
11.57	J	Okay. Have you ever imagined what your life would have been if you were raised in the Philippines or if, you know, if you didn't come here to Hong Kong?
12.13	T	If I didn't come here to Hong Kong?
12.14	J	Yeah.
12.15	T	Well, I would be like my kuya. My kuya from what I – because my kuya, he stayed there for his whole highs school life. Like ever since he was – he was born and raised there in the Philippines and his virtues are different and his beliefs are different. And I don't know like how to describe, I think I would be more open. Like how Filipino students are like very open-minded, something like broad-minded and very resourceful. I'm not sure actually because my brother is very resourceful like he keen to do anything out of anything. I don't know how he does it. And he says that he learned it in the Philippines, like he learns these things in the Philippines. From – I'm not sure if you know Anthony – but then, he says that he learns his math techniques from the Philippines that we have never heard of. And I'm just like what if I actually learned those... would I be good in math? Just like the little things.
13.31	J	Okay, in math. In general life, have you experienced that kind of well, open-mindedness or resourcefulness that you're talking about?
13.45	T	In Hong Kong?

(This interview lasted 45.28)

Appendix 6.1 List of Publications from Thesis

Publication 1: Peer reviewed conference paper (Appendix 6.2)

Gube, J., & Phillipson, S. (2014). *Intersections of classroom practices and ethnic identity formation in a Hong Kong multiethnic school: The case of Filipino students*. Paper presented at the Hong Kong International Conference on Education, Psychology and Society.

Publication 2: Peer reviewed article (Appendix 6.3)

Gube, J. (2015). Can I still be myself around them here? Re-envisioning ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic schools through a dialogic approach. *Knowledge Cultures*, 3(4), 7-29.

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Gube, J and Phillipson, S, Intersections of classroom practices and ethnic identity formation in a Hong Kong multiethnic school: The case of Filipino students, Proceedings of the 2014 Hong Kong international conference on education, psychology and society and the international symposium on social sciences, 29 - 31 December, Hong Kong, pp. 582-591. ISBN 978-986-87417-3-7 (2014) [Refereed Conference Paper]



Knowledge Cultures 3(4), 2015, pp.
ISSN (printed): 2327-5731 • e-ISSN 2375-6527

CAN I STILL BE MYSELF AROUND THEM HERE? RE-ENVISIONING ETHNIC IDENTITY NEGOTIATION IN MULTIETHNIC SCHOOLS THROUGH A DIALOGIC APPROACH

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ABSTRACT. This article presents a way of understanding ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic school settings through dialogical and sociocultural perspectives. Starting with reference to Bakhtin and dialogical self theory (DST) as a lens to consider the nexus between ethnic self and other, the article discusses how this nexus is emplaced within the interplay of collective voices and cultural tools. It moves on to consider how these voices and tools are embedded within sociocultural processes of institutions. Based on these theoretical considerations, ethnic identity negotiation is foregrounded through an emphasis on individuals' dialogical interactions with ethnically compounded sociocultural processes that contribute to the (in)stability of ethnic self. The article concludes by proposing this dialogical approach as a way forward to looking at ethnic identity in shifting and dynamic sociocultural milieu of multiethnic schools.

Keywords: ethnic identity; dialogical self; ethnic minority; Hong Kong

Introduction

Ethnic identity has been discussed in much literature on ethnic minorities (EM) in multiethnic school settings. A key concern in these studies does not escape the sociocultural background of EM students bring into classrooms. In sociocultural circle, Mikhail Bakhtin has been an influential figure in identity work with regards to the interface of self and other, which, in part, led to the development of DST.² My goal in this article is to explore DST from a theoretical viewpoint and its interface with sociocultural processes in multiethnic school setting, particularly with reference to ethnicity in Hong Kong. Beginning with reference to Bakhtin, I use DST to explicate the

dimensions of ethnic identity in analyzing the processes in multiethnic schools that instigate negotiations of ethnic self and other. I suggest that this conceptualization is crucial to research into multiethnic schools characterized as cultural contact zone³ – multicultural space characterized by the salient intermingling of individuals with multiple ethnic others in an institution. In making explicit the analytical implications of DST in multiethnic education settings, this article argues for a much nuanced view on the intersections of ethnic identity and schooling environment. Put differently, the multiplicity of identity lies not only in multiple contexts, but also within a specific context populated by ethnic others. Rather than passive receivers of schooling discourse, individuals actively engage in relationships with people at different contextual layers and in varying extent in multiethnic schools to negotiate their ethnic identity. In essence, the article reflects on an ‘identity crisis’ that may speak to EM individuals in multiethnic schooling environments, as suggested by the title: Can I still be myself around them here?

Bakhtin’s⁴ conceptions offer a starting point in exploring this identity question. For him, dialogical relationships consist of multiple points of view in social structures. His attention to multiplicity assumes that identity is neither dialectical nor unilateral, but penetrated by different worldviews of others. Predictably, in multiethnic settings, there is not one other but many cultural others. These others, as Bakhtin implied, can occupy self at different levels that enable relationship dynamics in a sociocultural context. Thus, in pursuing this relationship of self and other further, DST can delineate the underpinning processes of ethnic identity in multiethnic school settings that developmental theories may overlook. In this article, I discuss the usefulness of dialogical approach in examining EM students’ ethnic identity in multiethnic school settings. This argument, where necessary, is illustrated with reference to the culturally diverse landscape of Hong Kong classrooms characterized by its emphasis on EM students’ integration into the city.

Hong Kong Scene: Cultural diversity, Chinese Language and Ethnic Identity

Hong Kong, a former British colony, makes an interesting case for studies on ethnic identity in schooling context because of its culturally diverse landscape. Out of the approximately seven million people in Hong Kong, 6.4% belong to the EM group – Filipino (1.9%), Indonesian (1.9%), Caucasian (0.8%), Indian (0.4%), Nepalese (0.2%), Japanese (0.2%), Thai (0.2%), Pakistani (0.2%) and other Asians (0.2%).⁵ Currently, 42,079 EM are studying in publicly funded kindergarten, primary and secondary schools. While these figures highlight the diverse population of Hong Kong,

this relative small number in population means that EM could be invisible,⁶ which renders Hong Kong unique with respect to the ways diversity issues play out in its educational context.

In Ogbu's⁷ classification, Hong Kong EM students are identified as immigrant minorities whose parents seek better social mobility in Hong Kong. Except those working as an expatriates, a number of them occupy a low to middle socioeconomic status (SES) that make their children a distinct population group as opposed to those enrolled in international schools. It is useful to note that students in international schools typically belong to high SES group and receive education in systems beyond the scope of Hong Kong government. The EM students described in this article are those studying in the publicly funded system. Presumably, EM students' experiences in these schools are shaped by the broader initiatives of the government in their Chinese language learning.

Research on EM students in Hong Kong has come to the fore since the introduction of the Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) in 2009. Although different forms of educational support attended to the needs of EM students even before the RDO, unequal treatment towards EM students remained problematic⁸ (e.g. limited school options and access to higher education). Unlike Western societies, Hong Kong's educational initiatives for EM students are not driven by equity agendas or multiculturalism. Initiatives as such, as Kennedy⁹ argued, are underpinned by Confucian principles, seeking to maintain social harmony by merely fulfilling international laws on anti-discrimination. It meant that social justice in Hong Kong tends to be a matter of sufficiency instead of equality when it comes to school provisions, which partly explains the absence of a much extensive educational support for EM students except on EM students' Chinese language learning.¹⁰ These support mechanisms are centered on EM students' acquisition of Chinese language by virtue of their integration to the wider society, e.g. the provision of guidelines based upon the existing mainstream Chinese language curriculum, recurrent grant and professional support for teachers and after-school extended Chinese learning activities.¹¹

Comparable to Ogbu's¹² description on immigrant minorities, like those struggling to acquire English language in Western contexts, Chinese language barrier has hindered many EM students' successful integration into wider society of Hong Kong. However, Hong Kong's response to cultural diversity in schools may not be equated with that of the schools in Western nations, where the idea of culturally responsive education environment remains alien to many Hong Kong educators.¹³ This response parallels some debates on whether Hong Kong aligns its educational initiatives with the sociocultural background of EM students.¹⁴ Implicitly, the silences surrounding multicultural practices in the wider educational landscape of

Hong Kong beg for considerations on EM students' ethnic identity negotiation. I suggest that EM students' ethnic identity negotiation can be analyzed using a dialogical approach. So too can it help researchers identify ethnic identity's sociocultural bases in the schooling environment underwritten by the emerging multicultural landscape of schools in Hong Kong.

In moving away from developmental views that tend to offer less explicit links between ethnic identity negotiation and schooling (e.g. Phinney), I use DST to highlight the ability of individuals in adopting cultural positioning. Then, I consider how interactions, as mediated by ethnically suggestive voice and tools, are permeated by the institutional dynamics of schooling. In bringing these two dimensions together, I show how understandings of ethnic identity negotiation in schooling can be enriched by employing a dialogical perspective. The discussion attends to the following three broad questions:

1. How can ethnic identity be viewed through DST?
2. What are the bases of cultural positioning in sociocultural processes?
3. How does schooling discourse mediate the construction of ethnic identity?

The purpose is to seek alternative analytic lens that is sensitive to a context different from English-speaking immigrant regions. This is not to underappreciate the wider identity literature in English-speaking school contexts as it has provided an important basis for conceptual reflection, such as Kadianaki's¹⁵ work. It highlighted the power asymmetries in dominant social discourse in immigrant countries that shape minority individuals' access to identity resources. Turning to Hong Kong, its changing politics in educational landscape for EM students has generated new types of schooling provisions, shaping the institutional discourses that may limit or promote access of EM students to identity resources in schools. Therefore, treating ethnic identity negotiation as a constant dialogue with schooling discourse can draw attention to the institutional dynamics of multiethnic schools. In this article, I integrate DST and a sociocultural framework to propose its contribution to understanding ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic education context.

How Can Ethnic Identity Be Viewed through DST?

Ethnic Identity

This article departs from the broad understanding that ethnic identity is “an affiliative construct, where an individual is viewed by *themselves* and by *others* as belonging to a particular ethnic or cultural group.”¹⁶ Trimble and Dickson’s consideration on self and other paves way to understanding ethnic identity as part of complex socialization processes of individuals with other people, not merely a process resulting from biological or physical makeup of a person. The authors went on asserting ethnic identity’s dependence on context and situation, through which individuals interact with cultural elements situated in specific time and space. Thus, understanding ethnic identity negotiation necessitates considerations on self in two ways. First, the self is partly autonomous¹⁷ in that individuals choose to associate themselves with cultural group(s). Second, self is dependent upon the space an individual is exposed to and those they interact with. To place ethnic identity negotiation within the DST framework, I shall refer to some of Bakhtin’s writing on dialogism to depict the meaning-making processes in dialogical relationships.¹⁸

Dialogism

An important feature of dialogism is the continual engagement of an individual with other people and artifacts, not just in in-situ interaction, but also by imaginational interaction (when thinking about what other people say to us). Bakhtin’s¹⁹ popular analogy in literary works is that novel authors continually borrow other writers’ ideas in authoring their own writing, as he succinctly noted: “Everything means, is understood, as part of a greater whole – there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others”. Meanings, in this sense, is not self-composed, but grounded in time and space with others. Morson²⁰ articulated this proposition of Bakhtin more explicitly: “Meaning – in the sense of dictionary meaning – means nothing; it only has potential for meaning”, which echoed Bakhtin’s consideration that meaning is inherently meaningless, but societally and contextually defined. The nature of meaning is much to that of folklore,²¹ a product of traditions and reflection of a society, which is only established once it is welcomed by a community. Put differently, meaning is given, embodied and governed by those who enact them.

Meaning is an important basis of dialogical interaction. It is seen as a sociohistorical medium that goes beyond the scaffolds of textual information.²² For Bakhtin, meaning is not agenda free, by which it functions as a tool that changes how human relationships, hence shaping not only

ongoing interactions, but also how interactions are precipitated to reshape thinking, which suffice to say that language is 'ideologically saturated', populated by 'world view' and 'concrete opinion'.²³ Likewise, according to Morson,²⁴ meaning is mediated by discourse and one that mediates mental processes. If this line of thought is applied to interactions among individuals, it is worth reflecting on meaning-making processes embedded in dialogical activities and their capacity to condition the self.²⁵ Particularly, meanings are interpretive means susceptible to shift and movements through dialogical contacts.²⁶ A consistent view throughout Bakhtin's insights is his reluctance to attach essentialist notions on language. This conception reinforces that meaning is to be accounted for by broader context. Meaning, in principle, is incomplete without considering implications of external forces. In this line of thought, one could argue that meaning is an important basis of dialogues, which constitute the complex and dynamic interplay between self and other.

Representation of Ethnicity through Voices and Tools

In accounting for the relationship between self and other, Hermans cited Bakhtin's idea that "dialogue opens the possibility of differentiating the inner world of one and the same individual in the form of an interpersonal relationship",²⁷ which highlighted the interpersonal dimension of dialogism. Dialogues are composed of *voices*. Voice, in Bakhtin's lexicon, is not confined to the understanding of human voice – the way words are vocalized in conversation. Voice also includes 'hypothetical conversations'²⁸ that run in the mind of individuals as one imagines or preempts other people's sayings, precipitating human's worldviews. Thus, the interpersonal feature of dialogism highlights not just verbal dialogues among people, but also mental processes that encompass exchange of heterogenic voices,²⁹ understood as discrete but interconnected internalized mediating objects that enable a coherent understanding of the self (e.g. my teacher thinks I'm studious and my classmates think I'm clever), or what Hermans³⁰ called 'hypothetical dialogue'.

Based on Raggatt,³¹ self is construed by first understanding the symbolic systems that underlie it. This idea reinforces the multiplicity of I-positions (the way individuals position themselves in the world) in DST, implying that self is understood via a network of meanings and signs.³² Importantly, Raggatt cited Favareau's statement that can further guide us how self can be seen as a constant interplay of signs in DST:

Self-representation... is accomplished through a massively collaborative interaction of sign-exchange across countless nodes of mediation between cell, brain, body, and world. Neuronally,

biologically and symbolically, 'self' is therefore cumulative, not primal.

Sign-exchange represents the dynamic function of meanings that straddle psychological, physical and social domains. In other words, meaning extends beyond the body (here-and-now interlocations) that opens up theorization of its psychological function (the way meaning shapes human's thinking). If one accepts the assumption that voices are made up of meanings, one can recognize voices as components of the DST. In this respect, DST is about how individuals act or respond to different meanings as a result of interactions with people and artifacts as part of socialization processes. This assumption can draw attention to the cumulative feature of ethnic identity, not what is merely claimed (e.g. ethnic labels), but also how it is claimed (e.g. I feel like I am Filipino because...); it endorses the mobility of I-positions in DST. That is, as Hermans³³ maintained, cultural positioning is subject to constant movement, where self is reconstructed as one enters a new environment. Hence, ethnic identity negotiation squares with the volatility of dialogical processes that conceives the inter-animation between ethnic self and other as individuals exchange thoughts, interlocation and actions that denote ethnic characteristics. Consider the following remark:

To claim an ethnic identity (or to attempt to assign one to someone else) is to distinguish ourselves from others; it is to draw boundary between "us" and "them" on the basis of the claims we make about ourselves and them, that "we" share something that "they" do not. An ethnic group cannot exist in isolation.³⁴

Cornell and Hartman's characterization of ethnicity concerns not the blood ties but the categorization of individuals inscribe to one another. Put differently, ethnic identity is foregrounded in the presence of others who legitimize and assert the identification of one's membership in a particular ethnic group. If this postulation is attributed in terms of exchange of voices, then it is possible to associate its indexical function with different forms of symbolic demarcations among different ethnic groups. In echoing Trimble and Dickson's³⁵ conceptualization of ethnic identity, one can understand it, through dialogical lens, that as a person is socialized in a new geographical context, the person is exposed to voices and tools that could initiate movements in cultural positioning.³⁶ As Wortham³⁷ argued, *voices* are capable of inferring one's social position, which typify individuals' interactional features in relation to a particular group. Thus, the discursive attempts of distinguishing, drawing boundaries and making claims (although not necessarily verbal and palpable) are at the core of dialogical activities that suggest one's ethnicity.

Khanna's³⁸ work can illustrate the dialogicality of individuals' deployment of cultural tools and voices as ethnic markers. She averred that ethnic identity is symbolic because individuals draw on culturally suggestive meanings to express their ethnic characteristics, thus denoting their inclination towards a particular ethnic group. Khanna's participant, who had a black mother and white Italian father, was reluctant to be solely labeled as black. Khanna's analysis revealed that her participant drew on artifacts like clothing, food and flags with connotations of Italian culture. This led Khanna to argue that the participant used those ethnic symbols not to avoid his black identity and only cling on his partial whiteness, but to highlight his mixed ethnic background with an intention to avert negative stereotypes on blacks as illustrated below:

I like to cook a lot of Italian food and I follow soccer in Europe. . . . I have an Italian flag in my room and I have a lot of Italian sports clothing. . . . I have this shirt that says, "Italian Stallion" and it has a[n Italian] flag on it. And my girlfriend always kind of jokes about it and says, "I feel like sometimes you'd like to be seen as more Italian than black." I think I do because people don't really treat me like an Italian person. So I like it to be known. . . . My room has a poster of Italian architecture... [Other people] may ask me where I got it and then when I say "Italy," they're like, "Oh what do you mean?" . . . [I respond] "I'm Italian. My father got it from Italy."³⁹

Khanna's⁴⁰ data above illuminate DST at least in two ways. First, it supports Raggatt's⁴¹ observation that self is constructed based on meaning systems. Khanna's informant invoked artifacts related to Italian culture, attaching meaning to a supposedly dead object. Second, the participant grounded his own consciousness in the realm of Italian culture via the object's semiotic function to characterize his ethnic background. The participant's reference to the Italian objects points to the role of objects in reframing I-position. The cultural meanings of those objects have functioned "as an entry for contact with visible or invisible counter-positions".⁴² From the excerpt, the Italian objects became the central means of Khanna's participant to reassert his cultural positioning as an Italian. In doing so, however, he recalled how 'people don't treat' him like an Italian person. 'People', emerging as a generalized other that represents dialogical tension, had distanced him from an Italian position. Meanwhile, as he wished his Italian background 'to be known', he turned to cultural objects to represent his Italian ethnicity. In making those claims on his ethnicity, the movements in the cultural positions were not a one-off process, he engaged with a host of sociocultural processes in arriving to his assertion on being Italian dialogically.

Here, cultural positioning is seen in terms of how individuals deploy their relationships people and at times mediated by cultural tools, invoking their consciousness regarding their ethnicity. This is not to suggest that ethnically suggestive objects per se constitute cultural positioning. Rather, it is an intermeshed phenomenon of individuals and their sociocultural setting. Seen in this way, the individual, say Khanna's participant, was only able construct his ethnicity, not because of the sports clothes itself, but the wider cultural meaning it represents – a sporting culture known to Italians, symbolized by a stallion and a flag and rejecting other generalized positions contradictory to the cultural position he claimed. Establishing this cultural positioning necessitates considerations on the trail of sociocultural elements, in which the individual and objects are emplaced instead of treating them in isolation. This consideration is in line with modern dialogical conceptions in seeing self as culture-inclusive,⁴³ which will be discussed in the next section. The dialogicality of ethnic identity negotiation recognizes the interplay of self and other as meaning-exchange processes with particular attention to ethnically suggestive dialogues and objects. This step consequently draws attention to not only the person, object or culture itself. It is essential to consider all those elements in parallel. That is, I argue, ethnic identity negotiation, when viewed as dialogical activity, is constituted through ethnic demarcations through engagement with cultural tools emplaced in a sociocultural milieu. Thus, one can ask the following questions when exploring how individuals establish their cultural positioning:

- What cultural positions are being claimed by the individuals?
- What life experiences and representations are these cultural positions being related to by the individuals?
- In accounting for movements in cultural positioning, how are these life experiences and representations being deployed to accept, maintain or reject particular cultural position(s)?

What are the Bases of Cultural Positioning in Sociocultural Processes?

Central to the understanding of dialogical movements, as indicated above, is the sociocultural processes that underlie them. From a dialogical viewpoint, ethnic identity does not exist in vacuum. This leads to questions on how such process is emplaced and reshaped in a particular context. In a school, for example, one can perceive the mix of people (e.g. teachers, peers and administrators), practices (e.g. instructional activities and extracurricular tasks) and artifacts (e.g. classroom arrangements, curriculum and textbooks). All of these can instigate dialogical movements when one is emplaced and

interact with other individuals in a social terrain.⁴⁴ An added element in multiethnic schools is that EM students engage with ethnic others who are of different cultural backgrounds – whether peer or teachers, which supports the notion of cultural contact zone, in which the DST is in “the cultural context in which the self develops and frames itself”.⁴⁵ The theoretical underpinning of this, as noted by O’Sullivan-Lago and De Abreu, rests on the Jamesian conception of ‘I’⁴⁶ in the DST.

The strength of Jamesian ‘I’ highlights the (de)stabilization of identities through complex interactional experiences of individuals, understood via the concepts of continuity and discontinuity. Continuity refers to the psychological act of maintaining continuous sense of self. Discontinuity is the discrete elements that “represent different and perhaps opposed voices in the spatial realm of the self”.⁴⁷ Hermans’ emphasis on these concepts is that both continuity and discontinuity go side by side in the DST. Meaning to say, individuals encounter multiple situations undergirded by a matrix of objects⁴⁸ that could strengthen, weaken or contradict our sense of self. In terms of ethnic identity negotiation, delving into elements and meanings that provide continuous and discontinuous experiences of ethnic self would be important, which concerns the role of social space in fostering these experiences.

Understanding the relation of schooling and ethnic identity of students requires perspectives capable of mapping out relations among institution, the people and artifacts in it. These elements could represent meanings that one could draw upon in making sense of oneself. In this sense, school is not seen as mere structural object, but a space where rules are produced and relationships are established that enable rich dynamics of discourse. De Haan⁴⁹ described such dynamics more vividly: “Institutional settings do not automatically produce the institutional scripts, positions and norms they are associated with; rather, they need to be authored by participants who ‘instantiate’ these scripts, positions and norms”. This quote draws attention to people responsible for the establishment and enforcement of norms in a school instead of the schooling structure per se. Implied here is that norms and rules entail behavioral effects, which can shape students’ practices and identities through institution members’ enactment of practices, relationship and rules, contributing to the dynamics of meaning-making processes in multiethnic schools. Of interest here is when ethnic identity negotiation is placed within such a context. Thus, it is necessary to consider ethnic identity negotiation as a culture-inclusive process.

The culture-inclusivity of DST represents a conceptual advancement in overcoming dualistic understandings of self.⁵⁰ The focus is no longer the structural demarcations between the self and other, but their blurring boundaries. The voices of others are not just immediate interlocutions, but

thought processes about others subsumed into the self, as Hermans summarized it, “The words of other people, invested with indignation, anger, doubt, anxiety, or pleasure, enter interior dialogues and create an ‘inner society of voices’”.⁵¹ In Joerchel’s⁵² recent review, she typified three types of dialogical movements in cultural positioning to account for the inclusivity of DST:

- personal voices echo collective voices (e.g. invoking what others say about me)
- collective voices are in relation with other personal voices (e.g. what others think about me based on other people’s opinions); and
- collective voice takes over a personal voice mediated by social language (e.g. what others think about me through what they did and did not say – the underlying ‘guiding’ and ‘constraining’ principles).

Joerchel’s premise here is that dialogical movements take place in social contexts. It means that cultural positions cannot be established without cultural and social references. I-positions, as Joerchel argued further, represent collective voices that mirror societal structures. Tools, such as cultural objects, simultaneously mediate psychological process individually and social interactions. These implications on cultural positioning foreground the compatibility of DST in schooling context, given De Haan’s⁵³ emphasis on relational aspects within institutional structures. These relations in institutions are not without force as they exist within power structures that can take over personal voices. This is when macro level discourse inflects micro level interactional processes dialogically.⁵⁴ The force at times can lead individuals to adopt a position, depending on how strong the voices are and the underlying structures that give rise to it.

The Force behind Dialogical Movements

The drive towards a cultural position is socially motivated. Such a dialogical move in the self is not possible without some sort of “intensification”.⁵⁵ Negotiating an identity position means juggling with different voices. These voices, however, may not always carry the same weight. Put differently, some voices are louder, while some are silenced; some are significant, while some are trivial. Functionally, this is when individuals privilege a position over the other(s) or put into a position to do so. This force in the negotiation process closely echoes the concept of penetrative word: “a word capable of actively and confidently interfering in the interior dialogue of the other person, helping that person to find his own voice”.⁵⁶ Sullivan and McCarthy cited some of Bakhtin’s literary analyses to illustrate the function of particular characters, such as those in the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, in

evoking significant feelings towards a character (e.g. loving, hating). Such evocation is seen as “embodied in the values and tones of particular people in dialogue with another”.⁵⁷ This evocation, hence, materializes as a force that suggests one’s positioning and ‘becoming’,⁵⁸ or dialogical contact with people or artifacts that can intensify one’s dialogical tensions. This is the case when one enters a new landscape, say an institution, that instigates movements of cultural positioning.⁵⁹ These movements bring to a consideration that school consists of not only multiple voices, but also a host of tools (guiding principles) that shape dialogical processes. Importantly, the forces that undergird these dialogical movements represent the power of others in driving one’s cultural positioning in an institution.

Coming into terms with De Haan’s⁶⁰ description on institution, the voices stem from various institutional members (voices) and norms (tools) that act to constraint and guide social interactions of individuals in the school. Voices may simply come from teachers and/or peers. Meanwhile, these voices could also be mediated by school rules and norms, which can limit and expand social interactions (e.g. such as the need to respect fellow classmates and teachers cultural background – intolerance towards racial slurs). Therefore, the ethnic references in cultural positioning can be traced by looking at its sociocultural trails in voices and tools that one negotiates and the guiding principles that underwrite those voices and tools. A cultural position is resultant of many competing and even contradictory voices. As shown in the previous section, Khanna’s participant claim on his Italian position was not an instant process, in which he negotiated various voices (people in general, his father) and tools (objects that represent Italy). Similarly, this negotiation process can be expected in multiethnic schools when the conceptual emphasis is placed on ethnic identity’s dialogicality. In other words, personal and collective voices can reflect embedded power relationships in sociocultural processes through cultural tools. Hence, I argue that the co-constitution of voices and tools take form as ethnic markers and demarcation that provide means for the negotiation of ethnic identity. Taken together, this notion implies an analytical basis for describing dialogical relationship with various institution members of the context in question:

- In establishing a cultural position and/or drawing ethnic boundaries, what voices are being evoked in an individual’s life experiences and representations?
- What other voices are being evoked within those voices? Are those voices related to others?
- In evoking those voices, what societal structures are being signified and through what cultural objects?

How Does Schooling Discourse Mediate the Construction of Ethnic Identity?

The conceptual illustration of DST so far has shown that ethnic identity is dialogized through personal, collective voices and tools mediated via institutional context. This perspective moves towards a view that ethnic identity is co-constituted through individuals' socialization in sociocultural processes in institutions. It allows researchers to overcome reified notions of cultural positioning, which in turn supports the dynamic and bi-directional nature of ethnic identity negotiation.⁶¹ What needs to be addressed still is the ground that provides means for dialogical movements in ethnic identity negotiation. This brings into mind Hermans' ⁶² notion of macro frames. How do these frames underwrite the dialogical interactions at personal and social level in a school? To illustrate this sociocultural trail in the DST, I shall turn to a sociocultural framework by Vadeboncoeur, Velloso and Goessling.⁶³ The framework is in step with a conceptual emphasis of this article in underscoring the enmeshing between the person and culture in understanding identity negotiation.

The sociocultural framework⁶⁴ outlines interrelated conceptual themes: (i) individual acting with mediational means; (ii) being in social relationships that foreground learner-expert relations and everyday practices; and (iii) social relations under the umbrella of institutional contexts. The conceptual themes offer analytical direction towards the interaction between individuals and others – people, practices and institution. Such an analysis can be described as the “peeling [of] layers that exist in the social and personal planes”,⁶⁵ paving ways to observe how individuals draw upon different voices and tools instigated by relationships, practices and relations at different contextual levels in school that fortify or disrupt the continuity of ethnic self (i.e. things that make one feels more attached or detached to his or her ethnic background). It also draws attention to how voices and cultural tools are situated within and incited by institutional conditions (i.e. how certain interactions are forged by the values or goals of an institution).

Individual Acting with Mediational Means

Individual acting with mediational means⁶⁶ looks at how individuals interact with or react to meanings and discourses they are exposed to. This view is helpful in understanding the ‘choosing’ of individuals in making sense of their identities. Particularly, it offers conduit to consider how individual experience is linked to different contextual layers of institutions. Congruent to this view is the multiplicity of self⁶⁷ that regards the multiple influences of environment. It, therefore, supports the understanding that identity is partly afforded by schooling environment and discourses.

Being in Social Relationships that Foreground Learner-Expert Relations and Practices

This contextual level enables the mapping of discourse and gestures enacted in classrooms that leads to identity negotiation. Here, attention is drawn towards social relationships with others that constitute potential zones of proximal development (ZPD),⁶⁸ or, relationships pertaining to teacher and students / parents and children. In classrooms, teachers instill new knowledge, values and skills to students, leading Vadeboncoeur and colleagues to argue that teachers have more influence on students' personal development, or at least have more control over the everyday practices of students. This control stems from power that forges teacher-student relationship. Here, teachers may gauge power at different levels, shaping interactions between teachers and students in specific ways. More concretely, teachers generally decide on everyday practices (e.g. activities, norms, discipline and learning pace) in classrooms and determine how they would teach and treat their students that are part and parcel of their relationship in classrooms. All these elements are directly pertinent to the experience of students on a personal level. In other words, everyday practices are the 'doings' of individuals that could instigate identity formation through dialogical activities as they engage in those activities and interactions.

Social Relations under Institutional Contexts

Social relations are primarily concerned with the makeup of population in an institution and its relations with individual experience. It focuses on the groups of individuals that constitute the membership of a setting, which may be populated by students of a particular mix of ethnicity, gender, class or ability groups. Vadeboncoeur and colleagues⁶⁹ held that particular grouping may "reflect implicit patterned practices that are not necessarily visible",⁷⁰ which could be scrutinized via 'ideological discourses',⁷¹ and the way these discourses impact upon classroom practices and individual experience. As implicit as these discourses are, they can be understood by examining the purpose and values of the institution in a society, such as its relations with wider societal conditions (e.g. political, educational and funding policies) and the way these artifacts influence school provisions.

These institutional conditions mediate cultural tools, e.g. textbooks, student work, activities, etc., which may underwrite the interactions and practices in question in these relationships. The power within these relationships is not to be ignored, especially within the institutional hierarchy. Although Vadeboncoeur and colleagues⁷² pointed to the power relations between learner-expert relationship (i.e. teachers and students), the influence on cultural positioning is by no means exclusive to others who

possess power. As an explanation, ethnic identity can be influenced by peers and other personnel, especially if the experiences with the cultural others stand to be a strong collective voice that cut through individuals' personal positioning. This was the case of Khanna's⁷³ participant when the generalized other 'people' did not see him as Italian, a tension not necessarily stemming from learner-expert relationships.

In discerning the interrelationships of these voices and tools in an institution, it is possible to ask how they emerge as dialogical activities. Vadeboncoeur and colleagues⁷⁴ point on 'implicit patterned practices' among social groups is enlightening. These practices could be the collective voices that represent the commonalities of a particular social group. The commonalities could be the language that a social group uses or activities they participate together that form their everyday experiences. Embedded in these interactions could be ethnic boundaries that individuals construct. Implicitly, these interactions could be, in part, mirroring some school institutional values. At least in theory, if a school cultivates culturally respectful behaviors among students, teachers are to enforce such a rule and that students may exhibit behaviors that respect peers' cultural background or practices that particular ethnic groups do together (e.g. speaking in their home language), which might contribute to dialogical movements in cultural positions. In sum, I argue that ethnic identity negotiated is foregrounded by interactions and practices that constitute personal and collective voices, moving simultaneously across contextual layers of institutions that prompt dialogical movements in cultural positioning. These cultural positions reflect an institution's value and ethos through patterned interaction and practices. Thus, relevant questions about cultural positioning in institutional contexts are:

- Who and what initiate the interactions, practices and objects in the school with reference to ethnicity?
- Who and what guides, informs and limits those interactions, practices and objects?
- How are those interactions, practices and objects guided by the institute? Which school-wide rules or ethos underwrite them?

Reconstructing Ethnic Identity in Dialogic and Sociocultural Terms

Combining the perspectives of Joerchel⁷⁵ and Vadeboncoeur, Velloso and Goessling⁷⁶ can offer some insights into the analysis of ethnic identity in multiethnic schooling context. First, DST can account for ethnic identity's simultaneous engagement with collective voices and tools. This

interpretation is supported by Khanna's⁷⁷ work through individuals' evocation of artifacts and interactional accounts with cultural others. The voices and tools that individuals engage with are power-laden. The weight they carry varies, which can shape cultural positioning towards particular directions according to cultural others' penetrative words. The power structure within voices and tools opens up analytical attention within institutions. Such a structure, as De Haan⁷⁸ described, is maintained by the relational nexus forged by institutional members. It paves for one to consider the interface between cultural positioning and its sociocultural processes in schools.

In adopting the above lens, the analysis should not be limited to the ethnic labels that EM students claim. The voice and tools that they evoke in their school life experiences should also be emphasized through the way they construct their cultural positioning. In addition, these life encounters are mediated by the relationships, practices, power and relations in an institution. If the interface of Hong Kong's multiethnic schooling practices and EM students' ethnic identity is to be understood, it is important not to restrict analytical efforts within contextual domains, such as the implementation of curriculum and classroom arrangements. It would be fruitful to look at the pliability of the relations within such a culturally diverse institutional context. These changing relations may in turn become tools and voices that EM individuals draw upon when constructing their ethnicities. The value of this analytical approach can be seen on its emphasis on person-culture integration, which helps avoid oversimplification of contextual influence of schools on ethnic identity. This emphasis is in terms of the different contextual layers within institutions that mediate different levels of relationships in multiethnic setting. Hence, the analysis can help examine EM students' values and attitudes toward their ethnic identity in light of the changing provisions of Hong Kong's schooling provisions, where multicultural practices are not fully adopted.

Concluding Reflections

The goal of this article is to examine how DST and sociocultural concepts contribute to the understanding of ethnic identity negotiation in multiethnic school settings. In this article, I examined the notion of ethnic identity drawing upon dialogical concepts that direct attention on its relationship with the multilevel contextual layers of institutions. While there is no doubt on the construction of multiple ethnic identities in the multiple contexts of EM students as they traverse different settings, e.g. home, school, community, etc., within their multiethnic schooling environment are multiple sociocultural resources that can be drawn upon to construct ethnic identity

that call for a much nuanced analysis. In this vein, ethnic identity negotiation is seen as dialogical interactions of individuals with ethnically suggestive voices and tools embedded in various contextual layers of institutions. These voices and tools can be further investigated empirically whether and to what extent they contribute to the continuity and discontinuity of ethnic self. As pointed out above, discussing ethnic identity in such terms resonates with Joerchel's⁷⁹ proposition to move beyond topographic considerations of self, where self is somewhere in a particular, yet static, context. Analytical attention is drawn towards not only personal level, but also on social level through the cultural others those individuals simultaneously engage with. Encapsulated within such context are people who prompt dialogical movements. Accordingly, dialogical movements are emplaced within a context comprised of social relationships, practices and relations. In summary, DST, along with Bakhtin's conceptions and attention to sociocultural processes of institution, can help sketch ethnic identity processes in the following conceptual tenets:

1. Viewed as dialogical activity, ethnic identity negotiation is constituted through ethnic demarcations through engagement with cultural tools. The engagement of individuals with these cultural tools is emplaced in a sociocultural milieu.
2. Ethnic identity negotiation evokes personal and collective voices mediated, shaped and/or limited by cultural tools that represent embedded power in sociocultural processes. These evoked voices and tools are simultaneously being co-constituted with individuals.
3. Ethnic identity negotiation is instigated by interactions and practices that constitute personal and collective voices. They occur at and move across contextual layers of institutions that prompt dialogical movements in cultural positioning. The trail of these cultural positions may emanate from various patterned interaction and practices that reflect an institution's value and ethos.

Schooling is much more than acquiring knowledge. In multiethnic schools, particularly, students engage with cultural others and construct their identities through their everyday interactions. Education, as Lobok⁸⁰ argued, "involves experience of existentially inhabiting one's cultural body in the process of its formation" and "discovering one's self within the dimensions of the educational process under way". These insights point to the transformative power of education in paving one's sense of self, which underscores the relations between cultural positioning and sociocultural processes in multiethnic schools.

The analytic lens here, I suggest, can help foreground the silences in regards to the construction of ethnicity in multiethnic institutions. It supports contemporary dialogical and sociocultural approaches in seeing ethnic identity negotiation as a co-constituted phenomenon. Turning to Hong Kong's emerging multiethnic educational landscape, dialogical approach is promising in terms of examining EM students' ethnic identity negotiation in a multiethnic schooling system underwritten by Confucian principles.⁸¹ Researchers can raise questions with respect to the ways EM students respond to their multiethnic schooling environment. Such an attention to cultural dynamics in schools sees not only to EM students' ethnic identity tensions, but also the ways frontline educators respond to cultural diversity in schools. This is, for example, reported in Hue and Kennedy's⁸² study on the ways Hong Kong teachers reexamine their own cultural values as they engage with EM students to create a culturally responsive teaching environment.

If Kennedy's⁸³ view is to be taken, how do Confucian values in educational practices of multiethnic schools contribute to the (in)stability of ethnic self? What kinds of collective voices and tools do they constitute in students' cultural positioning? Cryptically, it is tempting to ask: Does the Hong Kong education system make EM students more of Hong Kong Chinese? How has this system changed the social interactions and practices in multiethnic schools? How do EM students negotiate their ethnic identities alongside the interactions and practices in their schools? While addressing these questions is, of course, far beyond the goal of this article. However, dialogical conceptions offer promises for analyses of ethnic identity in response to 'the increasing cultural connections'⁸⁴ in multiethnic school contexts of Hong Kong. Therefore, engaging with the identity phenomenon "Can I still be myself around them here?" in multiethnic schools requires attention to not just 'myself', not just 'them', but also 'here' – a space complicit in the multiple worlds of EM individuals as a result of crisscrossing of different ethnicities and changing support structure of education system, which could better account for their putatively hybrid identities.

NOTES

1. The conference presentation that formed the basis of this article was supported with Graduate Research Candidate Conference Fund Scheme provided by the University of Tasmania. I extend a special thanks to Dr Sivaness Phillipson for reading an earlier draft of this article and providing helpful suggestions. During the review process, the reviewers provided sage and stimulating comments. I am also indebted to Prof Ron Adams for his incisive editorial advice.

2. Hermans 2001, 2002.
3. O'Sullivan-Lago & De Abreu 2009.
4. Bakhtin 1981.
5. Census and Statistics Department 2011.
6. Kennedy 2011.
7. Ogbu 1992.
8. Loper 2004.
9. Kennedy 2011.
10. Kennedy & Hue 2011.
11. Education Bureau 2013.
12. Ogbu 1992.
13. Hue & Kennedy 2012.
14. McInerney 2010.
15. Kadianaki 2010.
16. Trimble & Dickson 2005, p. 418, emphasis added.
17. Hermans 2001.
18. While the discussion in this article falls mainly within the DST paradigm, revisiting Bakhtin's writings can help revive the emphasis on semiotics in dialogical relationships. This analytic emphasis of Bakhtin, according to Leiman (2002), was underdeveloped in the discourse of DST. As shown in this section, this emphasis of Bakhtin on meaning complements DST formulation pertaining to the sign-mediating function of artifacts alongside the voices emerging from other people.
19. Bakhtin 1981, p. 426.
20. Morson 1983, p. 230.
21. Clark & Holquist 1984.
22. Bakhtin 1981.
23. Bakhtin 1981, p. 271.
24. Morson 1983.
25. Valsiner & Han 2008.
26. Petrilli 2011.
27. Hermans 2001, p. 245.
28. Morson 1991, p. 1080.
29. Hermans 2002; Wortham 1999.
30. Hermans 2001, p. 251.
31. Raggatt 2010a.
32. Raggatt 2001, cited in Raggatt 2010a, p. 403.
33. Hermans 2003.
34. Cornell & Hartman 1998, p. 20.
35. Trimble & Dickson 2005.
36. Gillespie, Kadianaki & O'Sullivan-Lago 2012.
37. Wortham 1999.
38. Khanna 2011.
39. Khanna 2011, p. 1057.
40. Khanna 2011.
41. Raggatt 2010a.
42. Hermans 2002, p. 154.

43. Joerchel 2013.
44. Hermans 2001.
45. O'Sullivan-Lago & De Abreu 2009, p. 277.
46. Note that this Jamesian component of DST deviates from original Bakhtinian notions. This deviation certainly calls for attention to the distinction between dialogism and DST, such as the emphasis of DST on external positions in the self in postmodern conditions (Raggatt 2010b). Elaborating on these distinctions is, however, beyond the focus of this article, which is worthy of discussion of its own elsewhere. On the other hand, while distinguishing dialogism from DST is a valuable exercise in exposing their respective ontological trajectories, overstating such a distinction, I fear, can bypass the analytical potentials of the interrelated components of dialogism and DST, particularly on the notion of collective voices. This interrelationship is after all what this article pursues to shed light on understanding ethnic identity in emerging multiethnic schooling contexts.
47. Hermans 2001, p. 248.
48. Batory 2010.
49. De Haan 2005, p. 267
50. Hermans 2003.
51. Hermans 2003, p. 94.
52. Joerchel 2013.
53. De Haan 2005.
54. Hermans 2001.
55. Sullivan & McCarthy 2004, p. 304.
56. Bakhtin, cited in Sullivan & McCarthy 2004, p. 304.
57. Sullivan & McCarthy 2004, p. 305.
58. Sullivan 2010.
59. Hermans 2001.
60. De Haan 2005.
61. Joerchel 2013.
62. Hermans 2001.
63. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos and Goessling 2011, pp. 230-3.
64. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011.
65. Phillipson 2012.
66. Mediational means is a generic concept for cultural tools and voices. A distinction of these terms is elaborated in Wertsch (1991). I do not wish to pursue such a discussion here as I hope to elaborate on the interrelationship of cultural tools and voices with the sociocultural processes in institutions.
67. Aveling & Gillespie 2008.
68. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011, p. 230.
69. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011.
70. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011, p. 232.
71. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011, p. 233.
72. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011.
73. Khanna 2011.
74. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011.
75. Joerchel 2013.

76. Vadeboncoeur, Vellos & Goessling 2011.
77. Khanna 2011.
78. De Haan 2005.
79. Joerchel 2013.
80. Lobok 2014, p. S2.
81. Kennedy 2011.
82. Hue and Kennedy 2012.
83. Kennedy 2011.
84. Hermans 2001, p. 267.

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